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THE ROMAN ANTIQUITIES OF DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS VI

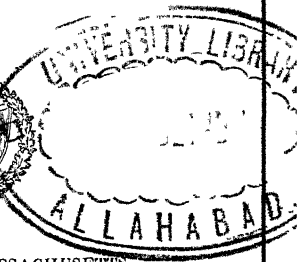
THE ROMAN ANTIQUITIES
OF
DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY
EARNEST CARY, PH D

ON THE BASIS OF THE VERSION OF
EDWARD SPELMAN

IN SEVEN VOLUMES

VI



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THE ROMAN ANTIQUITIES
OF
DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

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ΛΟΓΟΣ ΕΝΑΤΟΣ

XXV Τῷ δ' ἐξῆς ἔτει περὶ τὰς θερινὰς μάλιστα τροπὰς Σεξτίλιου μηνὸς παραλαμβάνουσι τὴν ὑπατείαν ἄνδρες ἔμπειροι πολέμων Σερούϊός¹ τε Σερούϊλιος καὶ Αὔλος Οὐεργίνιος, οἷς ὁ πρὸς τοὺς Τυρρηνοὺς πόλεμος καίτοι μέγας καὶ χαλεπὸς ὦν χρυσὸς² ἐφαίνετο παρὰ τὸν ἐντὸς τείχους ἐξεταζόμενος ἀσπόρου γὰρ τῆς χώρας ἐν τῷ παρελθόντι χειμῶνι διὰ τὸν ἐπιτειχισμόν τοῦ πλησίον ὄρους καὶ τὰς συνεχεῖς καταδρομὰς γενομένης, καὶ οὐδὲ τῶν ἐμπόρων ἔτι τὰς ἐξώθεν ἐπαισαγόντων ἀγοράς, σπάνις ἰσχυρὰ σίτου τὴν Ῥώμην κατέσχε μεστήν οὖσαν ὄχλου τοῦ τε κατοικιδίου καὶ τοῦ συνερρη-
2 κότος ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν τῶν μὲν γὰρ ἐν ἡβῇ πολιτῶν

¹ Σπόριος Gelenius

² χρυσὸς Ba χρυστὸς R

¹ For chaps 25 f. cf. Livy II 51, 4-52, 1

² See note on I 32, 5.

³ The MSS all give the praenomen as Servius both here

THE ROMAN ANTIQUITIES
OF
DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS
BOOK IX

XXV. The following year,¹ about the summer solstice,² in the month of August, Servius³ Servilius and Aulus Verginius succeeded to the consulship, both being men of experience in warfare. To them the Tyrrhenian war, though great and difficult, seemed pure gold⁴ in comparison with the conflict inside the city walls. For since the land had gone unsown the preceding winter because the enemy had fortified the adjacent hill⁵ against them and had kept up incessant raids, and since not even the merchants any longer imported the usual provisions from outside, Rome suffered from a great scarcity of corn, as the city was then crowded not only with its permanent population, but also with a multitude that had flocked thither from the country. For of adult

and in chap 28, but we should probably read Spurius, the form found in Livy, Cassiodorus and Diodorus. A Spurius Servilius Priscus was censor a century later.

⁴ See note on i. 57, 2

⁵ The Janiculum, see ix. 24

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ὑπὲρ τὰς ἑνδεκα μυριάδας ἦσαν, ὡς ἐκ τῆς ἔγγιστα
 τιμήσεως εὐρέθη, γυναικῶν δὲ καὶ παίδων καὶ τῆς
 οἰκετικῆς θεραπείας ἐμπόρων τε καὶ τῶν¹ ἐργαζο-
 μένων τὰς βαναύσους τέχνας μετοίκων (οὐδενὶ γὰρ
 ἐξῆν Ῥωμαίων οὔτε κάπηλον οὔτε χειροτέχνην
 βίον ἔχειν) οὐκ ἔλαττον ἢ τριπλάσιον τοῦ πολιτικοῦ
 πλήθους οὓς οὐκ ἦν παραμυθῆσασθαι ῥάδιον ἀγα-
 νακτοῦντας ἐπὶ τῷ πάθει καὶ συντρέχοντας εἰς τὴν
 ἀγορὰν καὶ καταβοῶντας τῶν ἐν τοῖς τέλεσιν ἐπὶ
 τε τὰς οἰκίας τῶν πλουσίων κατὰ πλήθος ὠθου-
 μένους καὶ διαρπάζειν ἐπιχειροῦντας ἄτερ ὦνῆς
 3 τὰς ἀποκειμένας αὐτοῖς² τροφάς οἱ δὲ δήμαρχοι
 συνάγοντες αὐτοὺς εἰς ἐκκλησίαν καὶ κατηγοροῦντες
 τῶν πατρικίων ὡς αἰεὶ τι κακὸν ἐπὶ τοῖς πένησι
 μηχανωμένων καὶ πάνθ' ὅσα πώποτε δεινὰ συνέβη³
 κατὰ τὴν ἀτέκμαρτόν τε καὶ ἀφύλακτον ἀνθρώποις
 τύχην ἐκείνων ἔργα λέγοντες, ὑβριστὰς εἶναι πι-
 4 κροὺς ἐξειργάσαντο τοιούτοις συνεχόμενοι κακοῖς
 οἱ ὕπατοι πέμπουσι⁴ τοὺς συνωνησομένους σῖτον ἐκ
 τῶν σύνεγγυς τόπων μετὰ πολλῶν χρημάτων, καὶ
 τὸν ἐν ταῖς οἰκίαις ἔταξαν εἰς τὸ δημόσιον ἀνα-
 φέρειν τοὺς εἰς τὸν ἑαυτῶν βίον πλείονα τοῦ με-
 τρίου παραθεμένους, τιμὴν ὀρίσαντες ἀποχρῶσαν
 ταῦτα δὴ καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ μηχανώμενοι τοιαῦτα
 ἐπέσχον τῶν πενήτων τὰς παρανομίας καὶ ἀνα-
 στροφὴν ἔλαβον τῆς εἰς τὸν πόλεμον παρασκευῆς
 XXVI. Ἐπεὶ δ' αἱ μὲν ἔξωθεν ἐβράδυνον ἀγοραί,
 τὰ δ' ἐντὸς τείχους τροφῆς ἐχόμενα πάντα κατ-
 ανάλωτο, ἀποστροφὴ δὲ τῶν κακῶν οὐδεμία ἦν

¹ τῶν R · om B, Jacoby.

² αὐτοῖς A ἐν αὐτοῖς B.

³ συνέβη C, by correction om R

⁴ πέμπουσι ACmg ὥστε BC.

citizens there were more than 110,000, as appeared by the latest census ; and the number of the women, children, domestics, foreign traders and artisans who plied the menial trades—for no Roman citizen was permitted to earn a livelihood as a tradesman or artisan—was not less than treble the number of the citizens. This multitude was not easy to placate ; for they were exasperated at their misfortune, and gathering together in the Forum, clamoured against the magistrates, rushed in a body to the houses of the rich and endeavoured to seize without payment the provisions that were stored up by them. In the meantime the tribunes assembled the people, and by accusing the patricians of always contriving some mischief against the poor, and calling them the authors of all the evils which had ever happened at the caprice of Fortune, whose whims men can neither foresee nor guard against, they inspired them with insolence and bitter resentment. The consuls, beset by these evils, sent men with large sums of money to the neighbouring districts to purchase corn, and ordered all those who had stored up more than a moderate amount of corn for their own subsistence to turn it over to the state, and they fixed a reasonable price for it. By these and many other like expedients they put a stop to the lawless actions of the poor and thus got respite for their preparations for war.

XXVI But when the provisions from outside were slow in coming and all the food supplies in the city had been consumed and there was no other means of averting the evils but to choose one of two courses

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ἑτέρα, ἀλλὰ δυεῖν θάτερον ἐχρῆν, ἢ τοὺς πολεμίους
 ἐκβαλεῖν ἐκ τῆς χώρας ἀπάσῃ δυνάμει παρακινδυνεύσαντας ἢ τειχήρεις μένοντας ὑπὸ λιμοῦ τε καὶ
 στάσεως διαφθαρήναι, τὸ κουφότερον αἰρούμενοι
 τῶν κακῶν ἔγνωσαν ὁμόσε χωρεῖν τοῖς ἐκ τῶν
 2 πολεμίων δεινοῖς. προαγαγόντες δὲ τὰς δυνάμεις
 ἐκ τῆς πόλεως περὶ μέσας νύκτας διέβησαν τὸν
 ποταμὸν ἐπὶ σχεδίαις καὶ πρὶν ἡμέραν λαμπρὰν
 γενέσθαι πλησίον τῶν πολεμίων κατεστρατοπέ-
 δευσαν. τῇ δ' ἐξῆς ἡμέρᾳ προελθόντες ἔταξαν ὡς¹
 εἰς μάχην τὸν στρατόν. εἶχε δὲ τὸ μὲν δεξιὸν τῶν
 κεράτων Οὐεργίνιος, τὸ δ' εὐώνυμον Σερουῖλιος.
 3 ἰδόντες δ' αὐτοὺς εὐτρεπεῖς ὄντας οἱ Τυρρηνοὶ πρὸς
 τὸν ἀγῶνα σφόδρα ἐχάρησαν, ὥς ἐνὶ τῷ τότε
 κινδύνῳ κατὰ νοῦν χωρήσαντι τὴν Ῥωμαίων καθ-
 ελοῦντες ἀρχήν, εἰδότες ὅτι πᾶν ὅσον ἦν κράτιστον
 στρατιωτικὸν αὐτῶν εἰς τὸν ἀγῶνα ἐκείνον ὥρμητο,
 καὶ δι' ἐλπίδος ἔχοντες, ἐν ᾗ πολὺ τὸ κοῦφον ἦν,
 ῥαδίως αὐτῶν κρατήσειν, ἐπειδὴ τὴν μετὰ Μενηνίου
 δύναμιν ἐν δυσχωρίαις παραταξαμένην σφίσιν ἐνίκη-
 σαν γενομένης δ' ἰσχυρᾶς καὶ πολυχρονίου μάχης,
 πολλοὺς μὲν ἀποκτείναντες Ῥωμαίων πολλῶ δ'
 4 ἔτι πλείονας τῶν σφετέρων ἀποβαλόντες, ἀνεχώ-
 ρουν βάδην² ἐπὶ τὸν χάρακα. ὁ μὲν οὖν Οὐεργίνιος
 τὸ δεξιὸν κέρας ἔχων οὐκ εἶα διώκειν τοὺς σφετέ-
 ρους, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῷ κατορθώματι μένειν, ὁ δὲ Σε-
 ρουῖλιος ὁ τεταγμένος ἐπὶ θατέρου κέρως ἐδίωκε
 τοὺς καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἐπόμενος ἄχρι πολλοῦ ὥς δ' ἐν
 τοῖς μετεώροις ἐγένετο, ὑποστρέψαντες οἱ Τυρρηνοί,
 καὶ τῶν ἐκ τοῦ χάρακος ἐπιβοηθησάντων, ἐνσείου-
 σιν αὐτοῖς. οἱ δ' ὀλίγον τινα δεξάμενοι χρόνον

¹ ὡς B . om. R

² βάδην B om. R.

BOOK IX. 26, 1-4

—either to hazard an engagement with all their forces, in order to drive the enemy out of the country, or by remaining shut up within their walls to perish both by famine and by sedition—they chose the lesser of these evils and resolved to go forth to meet the perils from the enemy. Marching out of the city, therefore, with their forces, they crossed the river about midnight on rafts, and before it was broad daylight encamped near the enemy. The next day they came out of their camp and drew up their army for battle, Verginius commanding the right wing and Servilius the left. The Tyrrhenians, seeing them ready for the contest, rejoiced greatly, believing that by this single battle, if it turned out according to their wish, they would overthrow the empire of the Romans ; for they knew that all their foe's best soldiery was entered in this contest, and they entertained the hope, which was very ill founded, of defeating them with ease, since they had conquered the troops of Menenius when these had been arrayed against them in a disadvantageous position. But after a sharp and protracted battle, in which they killed many of the Romans but lost many more of their own men, they began to retreat gradually toward their camp. Verginius, who commanded the right wing, would not permit his men to pursue the enemy, but urged them to rest content with the advantage they had gained ; Servilius, however, who was posted on the other wing, pursued the foes who had faced him, following them for a long distance. But when he reached the heights, the Tyrrhenians faced about and, those in the camp coming to their aid, they fell upon the Romans. These, after receiving their attack for a short time, turned their backs

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ἐγκλίνουσι τὰ νῶτα καὶ κατὰ τοῦ λόφου διωκό-
 5 μνοι σποράδες ἀπώλλυντο. μαθὼν δὲ Οὐεργίνιος
 ἐν οἷσιν ἦν τύχαις ἢ τὸ ἀριστερὸν κέρας κατέχουσα
 στρατιά, πᾶσαν ἔχων τὴν δύναμιν ἐν τάξει πλαγίαν
 ἤγε διὰ τοῦ ὄρους ὁδὸν γενόμενος δὲ κατὰ νώτου
 τῶν διωκόντων τοὺς σφετέρους, μέρος μὲν τι ταύτῃ
 καταλείπει τῆς στρατιᾶς κωλύσεως ἕνεκεν τῶν ἐκ
 τοῦ χάρακος ἐπιβοηθησόντων, τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν αὐτὸς
 ἄγων ἐπεφέρετο τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐν δὲ τούτῳ καὶ
 οἱ μετὰ τοῦ Σερουιλίου θαρσήσαντες τῇ παρουσίᾳ
 τῶν σφετέρων ὑποστρέφουσιν τε καὶ καταστάντες
 ἐμάχοντο κυκλωθέντες δ' ὑπ' ἀμφοῖν οἱ Τυρρηνοὶ
 καὶ οὔτε πρόσω διεκπορευθῆναι δυνάμενοι διὰ τοὺς
 ὁμόσε χωροῦντας οὔτ' ὀπίσω φεύγειν ἐπὶ τὸν
 χάρακα διὰ τοὺς κατόπιν ἐπιόντας, οὐκ ἀνάνδρως,
 6 ἀτυχῶς δ' οἱ πλείους κατεκόπησαν γενομένης δ'
 οἰκτρᾶς νίκης περὶ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους καὶ οὐ παντά-
 πασιν εὐτυχὲς τέλος εἰληφότος τοῦ ἀγῶνος, οἱ μὲν
 ὕπατοι πρὸ τῶν νεκρῶν καταστρατοπεδευσάμενοι
 τὴν ἐπιούσαν νύκτα ηὔλίσσαντο

Οἱ δὲ κατέχοντες τὸ Ἰάνικλον Τυρρηνοί, ἐπειδὴ
 οὐδεμία παρὰ τῶν οἰκοθεν ἤρχετο ἐπικουρία, κατα-
 λιπεῖν ἔκριναν τὸ φρούριον, καὶ ἀναστρατοπεδεύ-
 σαντες νυκτὸς ἀπῆραν εἰς τὴν Οὐιεντανῶν πόλιν
 ἐγγυτάτῳ σφίσι τῶν Τυρρηνίδων πόλεων κειμένην
 7 τοῦ δὲ χάρακος αὐτῶν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι κρατήσαντες
 τά τε χρήματα διαρπάζουσιν ὅσα ὑπελείποντο
 ἀδύνατα ὄντα ἐν φυγῇ φέρεσθαι, καὶ τραυματίας
 λαμβάνουσι πολλούς, τοὺς μὲν ἐν ταῖς σκηναῖς ἀπο-
 λειφθέντας, τοὺς δ' ἀνὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ἄπασαν ἐστρωμέ-
 8 νους. ἀντεῖχοντο γάρ τινες γλιχόμενοι τῆς οἰκαδε

BOOK IX. 26, 4-8

and, being pursued down hill, were slain as they became scattered. When Verginius was informed of the plight of the left wing of the army, he led his entire force in battle array by a transverse road that passed over the hill. Then, finding himself in the rear of those who were pursuing his troops, he left a part of his army there to block any who should be sent from the camp to the relief of their comrades, and he himself with the rest attacked the enemy. In the meantime the troops also under Servilius, encouraged by the arrival of their comrades, faced about and, standing their ground, engaged. The Tyrrhenians, being thus surrounded by both forces and being unable either to break through in front, by reason of those who engaged them, or to flee back to their camp, by reason of those who attacked them in the rear, fought bravely but unsuccessfully, and were almost all destroyed. The Romans having thus gained a melancholy victory and the outcome of the battle being not altogether fortunate, the consuls encamped before the bodies of the slain and there spent the following night under the open sky.

The Tyrrhenians who were occupying the Janiculum, when no reinforcements came to them from home, decided to abandon the fortress : and breaking camp in the night, they withdrew to Veii, which lay nearest to them of the Tyrrhenian cities. The Romans, having possessed themselves of their camp, plundered all the effects which the enemy had left behind as being impossible to carry away in their flight, and also seized many of their wounded, part of whom had been left in the tents, while others lay scattered all along the road. For some, eager to be on their way home, were holding out and with hearts

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ὁδοῦ καὶ διεκαρτέρουν παρὰ δύναμιν ἀκολουθοῦν-
 τες, εἶτα βαρυνομένων αὐτοῖς τῶν μελῶν ἡμιθνήτες
 κατέρρεον ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν· οὓς οἱ τῶν Ῥωμαίων
 ἱππεῖς ἐπὶ πολὺ τῆς ὁδοῦ προελθόντες ἀνείλοντο
 καὶ ἐπειδὴ οὐδὲν ἔτι πολέμιον ἦν, καθελόντες τὸ
 φρούριον καὶ τὰ λάφυρα ἄγοντες ἦκον εἰς τὴν
 πόλιν, τὰ σώματα τῶν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ τελευτησάν-
 των κομίσαντες, οἰκτρὰν ὄψιν ἅπασι τοῖς πολί-
 ταῖς διὰ πλήθος τε καὶ ἀρετὴν τῶν ἀπολομένων
 9 ὥστε ὁ μὲν δῆμος οὔτε ἐορτάζειν ὡς καλὸν ἀγῶνα
 κατορθώσας ἡξίου, οὔτε πενθεῖν ὡς ἐπὶ μεγάλῃ καὶ
 ἀνηκέστῳ συμφορᾷ ἢ δὲ βουλῇ τοῖς μὲν θεοῖς τὰς
 ἀναγκαίους ἐψηφίσατο θυσίας, τὴν δ' ἐπινίκιον τοῦ
 θριάμβου πομπὴν οὐκ ἐπέτρεψε ποιήσασθαι τοῖς
 ὑπάτοις μετ' οὐ πολλὰς δ' ἡμέρας ἀγορᾶς ἐπλή-
 σθη παντοδαπῆς ἢ πόλιν τῶν τε δημοσίᾳ πεμφ-
 θέντων καὶ τῶν εἰωθότων ἐμπορεύεσθαι πολὺν
 εἰσαγαγόντων σῖτον, ὥστ' ἐν τῇ προτέρᾳ πάντας
 εὐετηρία γενέσθαι.

XXVII Καταλυθέντων δὲ τῶν ὑπαιθρίων πολέ-
 μων ἢ πολιτικῇ στάσις αὖθις ἀνεκαίετο τῶν δημ-
 ἄρχων πάλιν ταραπτόντων τὸ πλῆθος, καὶ τὰ μὲν
 ἄλλα πολιτεύματα διεσκέδασαν αὐτῶν ἀντιταττό-
 μενοι πρὸς ἕκαστον οἱ πατρίκιοι, τὴν δὲ κατὰ
 Μενηνίου δίκην τοῦ νεωστὶ ὑπατεύσαντος καίτοι
 πολλὰ πραγματευθέντες ἀδύνατοι ἐγένοντο διαλυ-
 2 σαι· ἀλλ' ὑπαχθεῖς ὁ ἀνὴρ εἰς δίκην ὑπὸ δυεῖν¹
 δημάρχων Κοῖντου Κωνσιδίου² καὶ Τίτου Γενυκίου,
 καὶ λόγον ἀπαιτούμενος τῆς στρατηγίας τοῦ πολέ-

¹ δυεῖν R τῶν δυεῖν R

² Κωνσιδίου Sigonius καὶ κοιντιλίου AC, κοιντίνου R

stout beyond their strength were persisting in following their comrades ; then, when their limbs grew heavy, they collapsed half dead to the ground. These the Roman horsemen slew as they advanced a good distance along the road. And when there was no longer any sign of the enemy, the army razed the fortress and returned to the city with the spoils, carrying with them the bodies of those who had been slain in the battle—a piteous sight to all the citizens by reason both of the number and of the valour of those who had perished. Accordingly, the people did not think it fitting either to hold festival as for a glorious victory or to mourn as for a great and irreparable calamity ; and the senate, while ordering the required sacrifices to be offered to the gods, did not permit the consuls to conduct the triumphal procession in token of a victory. A few days later the city was filled with all sorts of provisions, as not only the men who had been sent out by the commonwealth but also those who were accustomed to carry on this trade had brought in much corn, consequently, everybody enjoyed the same abundance as aforetime.

XXVII The foreign wars ¹ being now ended, the civil dissension began to flare up again as the tribunes once more stirred up the populace. And though all their other measures were defeated by the patricians as the result of marshalling their forces against every proposal, yet they were unable to suppress the accusation against Menenius, the late consul, in spite of all their efforts, but he was brought to trial by Quintus Considius and Titus Genucius, two of the tribunes. And being called upon to give an accounting of his

¹ Cf. Livy, II. 52, 2-5

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μου τέλος οὐτ' εὐτυχές οὐτ' εὐπρεπές λαβόντος,¹
 μάλιστα δὲ διαβαλλόμενος ἐπὶ τῷ Φαβίῳ ὀλέθρῳ
 καὶ τῇ Κρεμέρας ἀλώσει, δικάζοντος τοῦ δημο-
 τικοῦ ὄχλου κατὰ φυλάς, οὐ παρ' ὀλίγας ψήφους
 ὤφλεν, υἱὸς ὦν Ἀγρίππα Μενηνίου τοῦ καταγα-
 γόντος ἐκ τῆς φυγῆς τὸν δῆμον καὶ διαλλάξαντος
 πρὸς τοὺς πατρικίους, ὃν ἀποθανόντα ἡ βουλὴ ἐκ
 τῶν δημοσίων χρημάτων λαμπροτάταις ἐκόσμησε
 ταφαῖς, αἱ δὲ γυναῖκες αἱ Ῥωμαίων ἐνιαύσιον
 ἐπένθησαν χρόνον πορφύραν καὶ χρυσὸν ἀποθέμεναι.
 3 οὐ μέντοι θανάτου γε αὐτὸν² οἱ καταδικασάμενοι
 ἐτίμησαν, ἀλλ' ἐκτίσματος ὃ πρὸς μὲν τοὺς νῦν
 ἐξεταζόμενον βίους γέλωτος ἂν ἄξιον φανείη, τοῖς
 δὲ τότε ἀνθρώποις αὐτουργοῖς οὖσι καὶ πρὸς αὐτὰ
 τὰ ἀναγκαῖα ζῶσι, μάλιστα δ' ἐκείνῳ τῷ ἀνδρὶ
 πενίαν κληρονομήσαντι παρὰ τοῦ πατρός, ὑπερ-
 φυές³ ἦν καὶ βαρὺ, δισχιλίων ἀριθμὸς ἀσσαρίων
 ἦν δ' ἀσσάριον τότε χάλκεον νόμισμα βάρος λι-
 τριαῖον, ὥστε τὸ σύμπαν ὄφλημα ταλάντων ἐκ-
 4 καίδεκα εἰς ὀλκὴν χαλκοῦ γενέσθαι καὶ τοῦτο
 ἐπίφθονον ἐφάνη τοῖς τότε ἀνθρώποις, καὶ ἐπαν-
 ορθώσασθαι βουλόμενοι αὐτὸ τὰς μὲν χρηματι-
 κὰς ἔπαυσαν ζημίας, μετήνεγκαν δ' εἰς προβάτων
 ἐκτίσματα καὶ βοῶν, τάξαντες καὶ τούτων ἀριθμὸν
 ταῖς ὕστερον ἐσομέναις ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρχόντων τοῖς
 ἰδιώταις ἐπιβολαῖς⁴ ἐκ δὲ τῆς Μενηνίου κατα-
 δίκης ἀφορμὴν αὐθις εἰλήφεσαν οἱ πατρίκιοι τῆς
 πρὸς τὸ δημοτικὸν ὀργῆς καὶ οὔτε τὴν κληρουχίαν

¹ Reiske λαβούσης O, Jacoby

² αὐτὸν B αὐτῷ R

³ ὑπερφύες Casaubon, ἀφειδές Jacoby, ἐπαχθές Capps,
 ἀπηνές Post ἀφ' ἧς O

⁴ ἐπιβολαῖς Ab ἐπιβουλαῖς AaBC

conduct of the war, the outcome of which had been neither fortunate nor honourable, and being blamed particularly for the destruction of the Fabii and the capture of Cremera, he was condemned by no small majority of the votes when the plebeians passed judgement upon him by tribes—even though he was the son of Agrippa Menenius who had brought the populace home after their secession and reconciled them with the patricians, the son of a man whom the senate after his death had honoured with a most magnificent funeral at the public expense and for whom the Roman matrons had mourned a whole year, laying aside their purple and gold. However, those who convicted him did not impose death as the penalty, but rather a fine—one which if compared with the fortunes of to-day would appear ridiculous, but to the men of that age, who worked their own farms and aimed at no more than the necessities of life, and particularly to Menenius, who had inherited poverty from his father, was excessive¹ and oppressive, amounting to 2000 *asses*. The *as* was at that time a copper coin weighing a pound, so that the whole fine amounted to sixteen talents of copper in weight. And this appeared invidious to the men of those days, who, in order to redress it, abolished all pecuniary fines, changing them to payments in sheep and oxen, and limiting the number even of these in the case of all fines to be imposed thereafter by the magistrates upon private persons. From this condemnation of Menenius the patricians took fresh occasion for resentment against the plebeians and would neither permit them to carry out the allot-

¹ The first of these two adjectives has been corrupted in the MSS and the correct word must remain in doubt

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ἐπέτρεπον ἔτι αὐτῷ ποιεῖσθαι οὐτ' ἄλλο ἐβούλοντο
 5 ἐνδιδόναι μαλακὸν οὐδέν μετ' οὐ πολὺ δὲ καὶ
 τῷ δήμῳ μετέμελε τῶν δεδικασμένων, ἐπειδὴ τὴν
 τελευτὴν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἐπύθετο οὐδὲ γὰρ εἰς ἀνθρώ-
 πων ἔτι συνῆλθεν ὁμιλίας οὐδ' ἐν δημοσίῳ τινὶ
 πρὸς οὐδενὸς ὥφθη τόπῳ, ἐξόν τε αὐτῷ τὴν ζημίαν
 ἐκτίσαντι μηδενὸς ἀπελαύνεσθαι τῶν κοινῶν (ἔτοι-
 μοι γὰρ ἦσαν οὐκ ὀλίγοι τῶν ἐπιτηδείων αὐτοῦ τὴν
 καταδίκην ἀπαριθμεῖν) οὐκ ἠξίωσεν, ἀλλὰ θανάτου
 τὴν συμφορὰν τιμησάμενος, οἴκοι μένων καὶ οὐδένα
 προσιέμενος ὑπὸ τ' ἀθυμίας καὶ σίτων ἀποχῆς¹
 μαρανθεὶς ἀπέστη τοῦ βίου καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐν τούτῳ
 प्राχθέντα τῷ ἐνιαυτῷ τοιάδε ἦν.

XXVIII Ποπλίου δὲ Οὐαλερίου Ποπλικόλα καὶ
 Γαῖου Ναυτίου παραλαβόντων τὴν ἀρχὴν ἕτερος
 ἀνὴρ πάλιν τῶν πατρικίων Σερούιος Σερούϊλιος, ὁ
 τῷ παρελθόντι ὑπατεύσας ἔτει, μετ' οὐ πολὺν ἢ
 τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀποθέσθαι χρόνον εἰς τὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς
 ψυχῆς ἀγῶνα ἤχθη οἱ δὲ προθέντες αὐτῷ τὴν ἐν
 τῷ δήμῳ δίκην δύο τῶν δημάρχων ἦσαν, Λεύκιος
 Καιδίκιος καὶ Τίτος Στάτιος, οὐκ ἀδικήματος,
 ἀλλὰ τύχης ἀπαιτοῦντες λόγον, ὅτι κατὰ τὴν πρὸς
 Τυρρηνοὺς μάχην ὠσάμενος ἐπὶ τὸν χάρακα τῶν
 πολεμίων ὁ ἀνὴρ θρασύτερον μᾶλλον ἢ φρονιμώ-
 τερον, ἐδιώχθη τε ὑπὸ τῶν ἔνδον ἀθρόων ἐπεξ-
 ελθόντων καὶ τὴν κρατίστην νεότητα ἀπέβαλεν
 2 οὗτος ὁ ἀγὼν ἀπάντων ἐφάνη τοῖς πατρικίοις
 ἀγώνων² βαρύτατος, ἡγανάκτουν τε συνιόντες πρὸς
 ἀλλήλους καὶ δεινὸν ἐποιοῦντο, εἰ τὰς εὐτολμίας
 τῶν στρατηγῶν καὶ τὸ μηδένα κίνδυνον ὀκνεῖν, ἔαν

¹ Sylburg : ἐποχῆς O

² ἀγώνων O deleted by Jacoby.

ment of lands nor make any other concession in their favour. And not long afterwards even the populace repented of having condemned him, when they learned of his death. For from that time he no longer entered into any intercourse with his fellow men nor was seen by anyone in any public place; and though it was his privilege by paying his fine not to be excluded from any public doings—for not a few of his friends were ready to pay the fine—he would not accept their offer, but rating his misfortune as a capital sentence and remaining at home and admitting no one, wasted away through dejection and abstinence from food, and so perished. These were the events of that year.

XXVIII. When Publius Valerius Publicola and Gaius Nautius had succeeded to the consulship,¹ another of the patricians, Servius² Servilius, who had been consul the preceding year, was put on trial for his life not long after laying down his magistracy. Those who cited him to trial before the populace were Lucius Caedicius and Titus Statius, two of the tribunes, who demanded an accounting, not for any crime, but for his bad luck, inasmuch as in the battle against the Tyrrhenians he had pressed forward to the enemy's camp with greater daring than prudence, and being pursued by the garrison, who rushed out in a body, had lost the flower of the youth. This trial was regarded by the patricians as the most grievous of all, and meeting together, they expressed their resentment and indignation if boldness on the part of generals and their refusal to shirk any danger were going to be made a ground for

¹ For chaps. 28-33 *cf.* LIVY II 52, 6-8

² See note on chap. 25, 1

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ἐναντιωθῇ ταῖς ἐπιβολαῖς αὐτῶν τὸ δαιμόνιον, εἰς κατηγορίαν ἄξουσιν οἱ μὴ στάντες παρὰ τὰ δεινὰ δειλίας τε καὶ ὄκνου καὶ τοῦ μηδὲν ἔτι καινουργεῖν τοὺς ἡγεμόνας, ὑφ' ὧν¹ ἐλευθερία τε ἀπόλλυται καὶ ἡγεμονία καταλύεται, τοὺς τοιούτους ἀγῶνας

³ αἰτίους ἔσεσθαι κατὰ τὸ εἰκὸς ἐλογίζοντο παρακλήσει τε πολλῇ ἐχρῶντο τῶν δημοτικῶν μὴ καταγνῶναι τοῦ ἀνδρὸς τὴν δίκην, διδάσκοντες ὥς μεγάλα βλάβησιν τὴν πόλιν ἐπὶ ταῖς ἀτυχίαις τοὺς

⁴ στρατηγούς ζημιοῦντες. ἐπεὶ δ' ὁ τοῦ ἀγῶνος ἐνέστη χρόνος, παρελθὼν εἰς τῶν δημάρχων κατηγόρησε τοῦ ἀνδρός, Λεύκιος Καιδίκιος, ὅτι δι' ἀφροσύνην τε καὶ τοῦ στρατηγεῖν ἀπειρίαν εἰς πρόδηλον ἄγων ὄλεθρον τὰς δυνάμεις ἀπώλεσε τῆς πόλεως τὴν κρατίστην ἀκμήν, καὶ εἰ μὴ ταχεία τοῦ κακοῦ γνώσις ἐγένετο τῷ συνυπάτῳ, καὶ κατὰ σπουδὴν ἄγων τὰς δυνάμεις τοὺς τε πολεμίους ἀνέστειλε καὶ τοὺς σφετέρους ἔσωσε, μηδὲν ἂν γενέσθαι τὸ κωλύσον ἅπασαν ἀπολωλέναι τὴν

⁵ ἑτέραν δύναμιν καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ἡμίσειαν ἀντὶ διπλασίας εἶναι τὴν πόλιν τοιαυτ' εἰπὼν μάρτυρας ἐπηγάγετο λοχαγούς τε, ὅσοι περιῆσαν, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων στρατιωτῶν τινας, οἱ τὸ ἑαυτῶν αἰσχρὸν ἐπὶ τῇ τότε ἡττῇ τε καὶ φυγῇ ζητοῦντες ἀπολύσασθαι τὸν στρατηγὸν ἡτιῶντο τῆς περὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα δυσποτμίας ἔπειτα οἶκτον ἐπὶ τῇ συμφορᾷ τῶν τότε τεθνηκότων καταχεάμενος πολλὴν καὶ τὸ δεινὸν αὐξήσας, τά τε ἄλλα ὅσα εἰς φθόνον κοινῇ κατὰ τῶν πατρικίων λεγόμενα τοὺς μέλλοντας ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς δεήσεσθαι ἀνείρξειν

¹ ὑφ' ὧν Reiske σφῶν O.

accusations, in case Heaven opposed their plans, on the part of those who had not faced the dangers; and they reasoned that such trials would in all probability be the cause of cowardice, shirking and the lack of any further initiative on the part of commanders—the very weaknesses through which liberty is lost and supremacy undermined. They earnestly implored the plebeians not to condemn the man, pointing out that they would do great harm to the commonwealth if they punished their generals for being unfortunate. When the time for the trial was at hand, Lucius Caedicius, one of the tribunes, came forward and accused Servilius of having through his folly and inexperience in the duties of a general led his forces to manifest destruction and lost the finest manhood of the army, and he declared that if his colleague had not been informed promptly of the disaster and had not by bringing up his forces in all haste repulsed the enemy and saved their own men, nothing could have prevented the other army from being utterly destroyed and the state from being reduced henceforth to one-half its former numbers. After he had thus spoken, he produced as witnesses all the centurions who had survived and some of the rank and file, who in the effort to wipe out their own disgrace arising from that defeat and flight were ready to blame the general for the ill success of the engagement. Then, having poured out many words of commiseration for the fate of those who had lost their lives upon that occasion, exaggerated the disaster, and with great contempt of the patricians dwelt at length upon everything else which by exposing their whole order to hatred was sure to discourage all who were intending to inter-

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ἔμελλεν ἐκ πολλῆς ὑπεροψίας διελθών, παρέδωκε τὸν λόγον

XXIX Παραλαβὼν δὲ τὴν ἀπολογίαν ὁ Σερουίλιος εἶπεν “Εἰ μὲν ἐπὶ δίκην με κεκλήκατε, ὦ πολῖται, καὶ λόγον ἀπαιτεῖτε τῆς στρατηγίας, ἕτοιμός εἰμι ἀπολογήσασθαι εἰ δ’ ἐπὶ τιμωρίαν κατεγνωσμένην, καὶ οὐδὲν ἔσται μοι πλέον ἀποδείξαντι ὥς οὐδὲν ὑμᾶς ἀδικῶ, λαβόντες τὸ σῶμα
 2 ὃ τι πάλαί βούλεσθε χρῆσθε. ἐμοὶ τε γὰρ κρεῖττον ἀκρίτῳ¹ ἀποθανεῖν μᾶλλον ἢ λόγου τυχόντι καὶ μὴ πείσαντι ὑμᾶς (δόξαιμι γὰρ ἂν² σὺν δίκῃ πάσχειν ὃ τι ἂν μου καταγνῶτε), ὑμεῖς τ’ ἐν ἐλάττονι αἰτία ἔσεσθε ἀφελόμενοι μοι τὸν λόγον καί, ἐν ᾧ καὶ³ εἴ τι ἀδικῶ ὑμᾶς ἄδηλόν ἐστιν ἔτι, ταῖς ὀργαῖς χαρισάμενοι ἔσται δέ μοι ἡ διάνοια ὑμῶν ἐκ τῆς ἀκροάσεως καταφανής, θορύβῳ τε καὶ ἡσυχίᾳ εἰκάζοντι πότερον ἐπὶ τιμωρίαν ἢ ἐπὶ δίκην κεκλή-
 3 κατέ με” ταῦτ’ εἰπὼν ἐπέσχε· σιγῆς δὲ γενομένης καὶ τῶν πλείστων ἐμβοησάντων θαρρεῖν τε καὶ ὅσα βούλεται λέγειν, παραλαβὼν τὸν λόγον πάλιν ἔλεξεν “Ἄλλ’ εἴ τοι⁴ δικασταῖς ὑμῖν, ὦ πολῖται, καὶ μὴ ἐχθροῖς χρήσομαι, ραδίως πείσειν ὑμᾶς οἶομαι ὅτι οὐδὲν ἀδικῶ. ποιήσομαι δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν τῶν λόγων ἐξ ὧν ἅπαντες ἴστε. ἐγὼ κατέστην ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν σὺν τῷ κρατίστῳ Οὐεργινίῳ καθ’ ὃν χρόνον ἐπιτειχίσαντες ὑμῖν οἱ Τυρρηνοὶ τὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως λόφον πάσης ἐκράτουν τῆς ὑπ-

¹ ἀκρίτῳ B om R

² ἂν Reiske · om O

³ καὶ O deleted by Cobet, Jacoby.

⁴ τοι B om. R

cede for the man, he gave him an opportunity of speaking.

XXIX Taking up his defence, Servilius said “ If it is to a trial, citizens, that you have summoned me, and you desire an accounting of my generalship, I am ready to make my defence , but if it is to a punishment already determined, and no advantage is to accrue to me for showing that I have not wronged you in any way, take my person and deal with it as you have long desired to do Indeed, for me it is better to die without a trial than after getting a chance to plead my cause and then failing to convince you—since I should in that case seem to suffer deservedly whatever you determined against me—and you on your part will be less blameworthy for depriving me of the right to plead my cause and for indulging your angry passions while it is still uncertain even whether I have done you any wrong. And your intention will be evident to me by the manner in which you give me a hearing . by your clamour and by your silence I shall judge whether it is to vengeance or to judgement that you have summoned me.” Having said this, he stopped. And when silence followed and then the majority cried out to him to be of good courage and say all that he wished, he resumed his plea and said “ Well then, citizens, if you are to be my judges and not my enemies, I believe I shall easily convince you that I am guilty of no crime I shall begin my defence with facts with which you are all familiar I was chosen consul together with that most excellent man, Verginius, at the time when the Tyrrhenians, having fortified against you the hill that commands the city, were masters of all the open country and

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αἶθρου¹ καὶ ἐν ἐλπίδι ἦσαν τοῦ καταλύσειν² ἡμῶν
 τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐν τάχει λιμός δὲ πολὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ
 1 στάσις καὶ τοῦ τί χρή πράττειν ἀμηχανία τοι-
 οὔτοις δὴ καιροῖς ἐπιστὰς οὕτω ταραχώδεσι καὶ
 φοβεροῖς τοὺς μὲν πολεμίους ἅμα τῷ συνάρχοντι
 ἐνίκησα διτταῖς μάχαις καὶ ἠνάγκασα καταλιπόντας
 τὸ φρούριον ἀπελθεῖν τὸν δὲ λιμὸν οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν
 ἔπαυσα τροφῆς ἀφθόνου πληρώσας τὰς ἀγοράς, καὶ
 τοῖς μετ' ἐμέ³ ὑπάτοις τὴν τε χώραν παρέδωκα
 ὅπλων πολεμίων ἐλευθέραν, καὶ τὴν πόλιν ὑγιῇ
 πάσης νόσου πολιτικῆς, εἰς ἃς κατέβαλον αὐτὴν οἱ
 δημαγωγοῦντες τίνος οὖν ἀδικήματος ὑπεύθυνός
 5 εἰμι ὑμῖν, εἰ μὴ τὸ νικᾶν τοὺς πολεμίους ἐστὶν
 ὑμᾶς ἀδικεῖν εἰ δ' ἀποθανεῖν τισι τῶν στρατιωτῶν
 κατὰ τὴν μάχην⁴ εὐτυχῶς⁵ ἀγωνιζομένοις συν-
 ἔπεσε, τί Σερουίλιος τὸν δῆμον ἀδικεῖ, οὐ γὰρ δὴ
 θεῶν τις ἐγγυητὴς τοῖς στρατηγοῖς τῆς ἀπάντων
 ψυχῆς τῶν ἀγωνιουμένων γίνεται, οὐδ' ἐπὶ διακει-
 μένοις καὶ ῥητοῖς τὰς ἡγεμονίας παραλαμβάνομεν,
 ὥσθ' ἀπάντων κρατῆσαι τῶν πολεμίων καὶ μηδένα
 τῶν ἰδίων ἀποβαλεῖν τίς γὰρ ἂν ὑπομείνειεν
 ἄνθρωπος ὢν ἅπαντα καὶ τὰ τῆς γνώμης καὶ τὰ
 τῆς τύχης εἰς ἑαυτὸν ἀναλαβεῖν, ἀλλὰ τὰ μεγάλα
 ἔργα μεγάλων αἰεὶ κινδύνων ὠνούμεθα.

XXX “ Καὶ οὐκ ἐμοὶ ταῦτα πρῶτῳ πολεμίους
 ὁμόσε χωρήσαντι συνέβη παθεῖν, ἅπασιν δ' ὥς
 εἰπεῖν ὅσοι μάχας παρακεκινδυνευμένας σὺν ἐλάτ-
 τοσι ταῖς σφετέραις δυνάμεσιν πρὸς μείζονας τὰς

¹ ἀρχῆς after ὑπαίθρου deleted by Reiske

² καταλύσειν C · καταλύειν R

³ ἐμέ Cmg : αὐτὸν O, ἑμαυτὸν Hertlein

⁴ κατὰ τὴν μάχην B om R

⁵ εὐψύχως Kiessling

entertained hopes of speedily overthrowing our empire. There was a great famine in the city, and sedition, and perplexity as to what should be done. Having been brought face to face with so turbulent and so formidable a crisis, I together with my colleague overcame the enemy in two engagements and obliged them to abandon the fort and leave the country, while I soon put an end to the famine by supplying the markets with abundant provisions, and I handed over to my successors not only our territory freed from hostile arms but also our city cured of every political distemper with which the demagogues had infected it. For what wrongdoing, then, am I accountable to you—unless to conquer your enemies is to wrong you? And if some of the soldiers happened to lose their lives in the battle while fighting successfully,¹ in what way has Servilius wronged the people? For naturally no god offers himself as surety to generals for the lives of all who are going into battle, nor do we receive the command of armies upon stated terms and conditions, namely that we are to overcome all our enemies and lose none of our own men. For who that is a mere mortal would consent to take upon himself all the consequences both of his judgement and of his luck? No man, I say; but our great successes we always buy at the cost of great hazards.

XXX “Moreover, I am not the first to whom it has fallen to suffer this fate when engaging the enemy, but it has happened to practically all who have risked desperate battles against enemy forces

¹ Or “courageously,” following Kiessling

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τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἐποιήσαντο. ἐδίωξαν γὰρ ἤδη τινὲς ἐχθροὺς καὶ αὐτοὶ ἔφυγον καὶ ἀπέκτεινάν τε τῶν ἐναντίων πολλοὺς καὶ ἀπώλεσαν ἔτι πλείους τῶν
 2 σφετέρων. ἐὼ γὰρ λέγειν¹ ὅτι πολλοὶ καὶ τὸ παράπαν ἡττηθέντες σὺν αἰσχύνη τε καὶ βλάβῃ μεγάλη ἀνέστρεψαν, ὧν οὐδεὶς τῆς τύχης δέδωκε δίκας ἱκανὴν γὰρ ἡ συμφορά, καὶ τὸ μηδενὸς ἐπαίνου τυχεῖν, ὡς δεῖ,² εἰ καὶ³ μηδὲν ἄλλο, μεγάλη τοῖς ἡγεμόσι καὶ χαλεπὴ ζημία. οὐ μὴν ἄλλ' ἔγωγε τοσούτου δέω λέγειν, ὃ πάντες οἱ μέτριοι δίκαιον εἶναι φήσουσιν, ὡς οὐ δεῖ με τύχης εὐθύνας ὑπέχειν, ὥστ' εἰ καὶ μηδεὶς ἄλλος τοιόνδε ἀγῶνα ὑπέμεινεν εἰσελθεῖν, ἐγὼ μόνος οὐ παραιτοῦμαι, ἀλλὰ συγχωρῶ τὴν τύχην ἐξετάζεσθαι τὴν ἐμὴν
 3 οὐχ ἥττον τῆς γνώμης, ἐκείνο προειπὼν ἐγὼ τὰς ἀνθρωπίνας πράξεις τὰς τε δυστυχεῖς καὶ τὰς εὐτυχεῖς οὐκ ἐκ τῶν κατὰ μέρος ἔργων πολλῶν ὄντων καὶ ποικίλων ὁρῶ κρινομένας, ἀλλ' ἐκ τοῦ τέλους καὶ ὅταν μὲν τοῦτο χωρήσῃ κατὰ νοῦν, καὶ τὰ μεταξὺ πολλὰ ὄντα μὴ καθ' ἡδονὰς γένηται, οὐδὲν ἥττον ἐπαινουμένας ὑπὸ πάντων ἀκούω καὶ ζηλουμένας καὶ τῆς ἀγαθῆς νομιζομένας τύχης ὅταν δὲ πονηρὰς λάβωσι τελευτάς, καὶ ἐὰν ἅπαντα τὰ πρὸ τοῦ τέλους ἐκ τοῦ ῥάστου⁴ γένηται, οὐ τῇ

¹ λέγειν A om R

² ὡς δεῖ A ὡς δ' B, ὧν δεῖ Kayser, om. Kiessling. It is easy to believe that not only ὡς δεῖ (or ὡς δ') but also εἰ καὶ μηδὲν ἄλλο is spurious. The striking similarity of these two phrases, quite unneeded in this sentence, to ὥστ' εἰ καὶ μηδεὶς ἄλλος, four lines below, where the words are required by the context, suggests that their presence here is due to a simple scribal error, it will be noted that in each case the words follow an infinitive ending in -χεῖν.

³ εἰ καὶ B καὶ A.

BOOK IX. 30, 1-3

more numerous than their own. For there have been instances where generals after chasing their foes have themselves been put to flight, and while slaying many of their opponents have lost still more of their own men. I shall not add that many even after meeting utter defeat have returned home with ignominy and great loss, yet not one of them has been punished for his bad luck. For the calamity itself is a sufficient punishment, and to receive no praise, as is inevitable, even without anything else,¹ is a great and grievous penalty for a general. Nevertheless, I for my part am so far from maintaining—what all reasonable men will allow to be just—that I do not have to render an accounting of my luck, that, even though no one else was ever willing to submit to such a trial, I alone do not decline to do so, but consent that my luck be inquired into as well as my judgement—after I have first made this one statement. I observe that men's undertakings, both unsuccessful and successful, are judged, not by the several operations in detail, which are many and various, but by the final outcome. When this turns out according to their hopes, even though the intermediate operations, which are many, may not be to their liking, I nevertheless hear the undertakings praised and admired by all and regarded as the consequences of good luck, but when these measures lead to bad results, even though every measure before the final outcome is carried out with the greatest ease,² they are ascribed, not to the

¹ See the critical note

² Or, following the emendation of Kiessling or that of Kayser, "in the best possible manner."

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σπουδαία τύχη τῶν πραξάντων ἀποδιδομένης, ἀλλὰ
 4 τῇ κακῇ τοῦτον δὴ τὸν σκοπὸν προθέντες¹ αὐτοῖς²
 ἐξετάζετε καὶ τὴν ἐμὴν τύχην ἢ παρὰ τοὺς πολέ-
 μους κέχρημαι καὶ ἂν μὲν εὖρητε ἡττημένον με
 ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων, πονηρὰν καλεῖτέ μου τὴν τύχην,
 ἂν δὲ κεκρατηκότα τῶν ἐχθρῶν, ἀγαθὴν περὶ μὲν
 οὖν τῆς τύχης, οὐκ ἀγνοῶν ὅτι φορτικοὶ πάντες
 εἰσὶν οἱ περὶ αὐτῆς λέγοντες, ἔχων ἔτι πλείω
 λέγειν, παύσομαι.

XXXI “Ἐπειδὴ δὲ καὶ τῆς γνώμης κατηγο-
 ροῦσί μου, προδοσίαν μὲν οὐ τολμώντες ἐπικαλεῖν
 οὐδ’ ἀνανδρίαν, ἐφ’ οἷς αἱ κατὰ τῶν ἄλλων στρα-
 τηγῶν γίνονται κρίσεις, ἀπειρίαν δὲ τοῦ στρατηγεῖν
 καὶ ἀφροσύνην, ὅτι κίνδυνον ὑπέμεινα οὐκ ἀναγ-
 καῖον ἐπὶ τὸν χάρακα τῶν πολεμίων ὡσάμενος,
 βούλομαι καὶ περὶ τούτου λόγον ὑποσχεῖν ὑμῖν,
 προχειρότατον μὲν τοῦτ’ ἔχων εἰπεῖν, ὅτι τὸ μὲν
 ἐπιτιμᾶν τοῖς γενομένοις πάνυ ῥάδιον καὶ παντὸς
 ἀνθρώπου, τὸ δὲ παραβάλλεσθαι πράγμασι καλοῖς
 χαλεπὸν καὶ ὀλίγων καὶ ὅτι οὐχ ὥσπερ τὰ γεγο-
 νότα φαίνεται ὁποῖά ἐστιν, οὕτω καὶ τὰ μέλλοντα
 ὁποῖα ἔσται ἀλλ’ ἐκεῖνα μὲν αἰσθήσει³ καὶ πάθεσι
 καταλαμβανόμεθα, ταῦτα δὲ μαντείαις καὶ δόξαις
 εἰκάζομεν, ἐν αἷς πολὺ τὸ ἀπατηλὸν καὶ ὅτι ῥᾶστον
 ἀπάντων ἐστὶ λόγῳ στρατηγεῖν πολέμους ἔξω τοῦ
 δεινοῦ βεβηκότας, ὃ ποιοῦσιν οἱ κατηγοροῦντες
 2 ἐμοῦ ἀλλ’ ἵνα ταῦτ’ ἀφῶ, φέρε πρὸς θεῶν εἴπατέ
 μοι, μόνος ἢ πρῶτος ὑμῖν⁴ ἐγὼ φαίνομαι βιάσασθαι
 φρούριον ἐπιβαλόμενος καὶ πρὸς ὑψηλὰ χωρία τὰς
 δυνάμεις ἀγαγών, ἢ πολλῶν μετ’ ἄλλων ὑμε-

¹ προθέντες Cobet, προιδόντες Jacoby προελόντες O.

² αὐτοὶ A ἑαυτοῖς B.

BOOK IX. 30, 3—31, 2

good, but to the bad luck of their authors. So taking this point of view, do you yourselves consider what has been my luck in the various wars, and if you find that I was vanquished by the enemy, call my luck bad, but if I was victorious over them, call it good. On the subject of luck, now, I could say still more, however, as I am not unaware that all who discuss it are tiresome. I will desist.

XXXI "But since they censure my judgement also, not daring, indeed, to accuse me of treachery or cowardice, the charges on which other generals are tried, but accuse me of inexperience in the duties of a general and imprudence, in that I undertook an unnecessary risk in pressing forward to the enemy's camp, I wish to render to you an accounting on that point too, since I can make the very obvious retort that it is very easy and lies in the power of any man to censure past actions, whereas to venture upon glorious exploits is difficult and within the power of but few, also that it is not so apparent what future events will be as what past events are, but, on the contrary, we apprehend the latter by perception and our experiences, while we conjecture the others by divination and opinions, in which there is much that is deceptive; and again, that it is the easiest thing in the world for people to conduct wars by talk when they stand far from the danger, which is what my accusers do. But, to waive all this, tell me, in the name of the gods, do you regard me as the first or the only man who ever attempted to capture a stronghold by force and led his men against lofty positions? Or have not many

³ αἰσθήσει B αἰσθήσεσι R
⁴ ὑμῖν B . om R

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τέρων στρατηγῶν, ἐξ ὧν οἱ μὲν κατώρθωσαν, τοῖς δ' οὐκ ἐχώρησεν ἡ πείρα κατὰ νοῦν, τί δή ποτ' οὖν τοὺς ἄλλους ἀφέντες ἐμὲ κρίνετε, εἰ ταῦτα ἀστρατηγησίας καὶ ἀφροσύνης ἔργα νομίζετε, πόσα δ' ἄλλα τούτου τολμηρότερα τοῖς ἡγεμόσιν ἔπεισι¹ πράττειν ὅταν τὸ ἀσφαλὲς καὶ λελογισ-
 3 μένον ἦκιστα οἱ καιροὶ δέχωνται, οἱ μὲν γὰρ τὰς σημείας ἀρπάσαντες τῶν σφετέρων ἔρριψαν εἰς τοὺς πολεμίους, ἵνα τοῖς βλακεύουσι καὶ ἀποδειλιῶσιν ἐκ τοῦ ἀναγκαίου παραστῇ τὸ εὐψυχον, ἐπισταμένοις ὅτι τοὺς μὴ ἀνασώσαντας τὰ σημεῖα ὑπὸ τῶν στρατηγῶν δεῖ σὺν αἰσχύνῃ ἀποθανεῖν· οἱ δ' εἰς τὴν τῶν πολεμίων χώραν ἐμβαλόντες ἔλυσαν τὰ ζεύγματα τῶν ποταμῶν οὓς διέβησαν, ἵνα τοῖς φεύγειν διανοουμένοις ἄπορος ἡ τοῦ σωθῆναι ἐλπίς φανείσῃ θάρσος παραστήσῃ καὶ μένος ἐν ταῖς μάχαις οἱ δὲ τὰς σκηναὶς καὶ τὰ σκευοφόρα κατα-
 4 τῆς πολεμίας ὅσων δέονται λαμβάνειν ἐὼ τὰλλα μυρία ὄντα λέγειν καὶ ὅσα τολμηρὰ ἔργα καὶ ἐνθυμήματα ἕτερα στρατηγῶν ἱστορία τε καὶ πείρα παραλαβόντες ἔχομεν, ἐφ' οἷς οὐδεὶς πώποτε τῶν ψευσθέντων τῆς ἐλπίδος ὑπέσχε δίκας εἰ μὴ ἄρα ἔχει τις ὑμῶν αἰτιάσασθαι με ὅτι προβαλὼν τοὺς ἄλλους εἰς προὔπτον ὄλεθρον αὐτὸς ἔξω τοῦ κινδύνου τὸ σῶμα εἶχον εἰ δὲ μετὰ πάντων τε ἐξηταζόμενην καὶ τελευταῖος ἀπηλλαττόμενην καὶ τῆς

¹ ἔπεισι B . ἦλθεν ἐπὶ νοῦν A

¹ This passage makes it clear that Dionysius could use *σκευοφόρα* in the sense of the simple *σκεύη*, and that it should be so rendered in iv 47, 2

others of your generals done the same, some of whom have succeeded, while the attempt of others has not turned out as they wished? Why in the world, then, did you let the others off but now try me, if you consider these actions to be marks of incapacity and imprudence in a general? How many other undertakings more daring than this does it occur to your generals to attempt when times of crisis admit of anything but the safe and well-considered course? Some indeed have snatched the standards from their own men and hurled them among the enemy, in order that the indolent and cowardly might perforce gain courage, since they knew that those who failed to recover their standards must be put to death ignominiously by their generals. Others, after invading the enemy's country, have destroyed the bridges over the rivers which they had crossed, in order that any who entertained thoughts of saving themselves by flight might find their hope vain and so be inspired with boldness and resolution in the battles. Still others by burning their tents and baggage¹ have imposed on their men the necessity of supplying themselves out of the enemy's country with everything they needed. I omit mentioning all the other instances of the kind, which are countless, and the many other daring actions and expedients of generals that we know of from both history and our own experience, for which no general was ever punished when disappointed in his hopes. Unless, indeed, someone among you can bring the charge against me that when I exposed the others to manifest destruction I kept myself out of danger. But if I took my place in the line with all the rest, was last to withdraw and shared the same fortune with the

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αὐτῆς τοῖς ἄλλοις μετεῖχον τύχης, τί ἄδικῶ, καὶ
περὶ μὲν ἐμοῦ ταῦθ' ἱκανὰ εἰρήσθω

XXXII “ Περὶ δὲ τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τῶν πατρι-
κίων, ἐπειδὴ τὸ κοινὸν ὑμῶν μῖσος, ὃ διὰ τὴν
κωλυθεῖσαν κληρουχίαν ἔχετε, καὶ ἐμὲ λυπεῖ, καὶ
οὐδὲ ὁ κατήγορος αὐτὸ ἀπεκρύψατο, ἀλλὰ μέρος
οὐκ ἐλάχιστον ἐποιήσατο τῆς ἐμῆς κατηγορίας,
2 βούλομαι βραχέα εἰπεῖν πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἔσται δὲ μετὰ
παρρησίας ὁ λόγος ἄλλως γὰρ οὔτ' ἂν ἐγὼ δυ-
ναίμην λέγειν οὔθ' ὑμῖν ἀκούειν συμφέροι¹ οὐ
δίκαια ποιεῖτε οὐδ' ὅσια, ᾧ δημόται, τῶν μὲν
εὐεργεσιῶν ἅς εὔρεσθε παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς, πολλῶν
οὐσῶν καὶ μεγάλων, οὐκ εἰδότες αὐτῇ χάριν, εἰ
δέ τι δεομένοις ὑμῖν ἐξ οὗ συγχωρηθέντος μεγάλα
βλάπτειτ' ἂν τὸ κοινόν, οὐ φθονοῦσα ὑμῖν, ἀλλὰ τὸ
συμφέρον τῆς πόλεως ὀρώσα, ἡναντιώθη, τοῦτο δι'
3 ὀργῆς λαμβάνοντες ἔδει δ' ὑμᾶς μάλιστα μὲν ὡς
ἀπὸ τοῦ κρατίστου τὰ βουλευόμενα αὐτῆς γενόμενα
καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ πάντων ἀγαθῷ δεχομένους ἀποστήναι
τῆς σπουδῆς εἰ δ' ἀδύνατοι ἦτε κατασχεῖν ἀσύμ-
φορον ἐπιθυμίαν λογισμῷ σώφρονι, μετὰ τοῦ
πείθειν τῶν αὐτῶν ἀξιοῦν τυγχάνειν, ἀλλὰ μὴ μετὰ
4 τοῦ βιάζεσθαι αἱ γὰρ ἐκούσιοι δωρεαὶ τοῖς τε
προιεμένοις² ἡδίοις τῶν ἡναγκασμένων εἰσί, καὶ
τοῖς λαμβάνουσι βεβαιότεραι τῶν μὴ τοιούτων ὁ
μὰ τοὺς θεοὺς οὐ λογίζεσθε ὑμεῖς, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τῶν
δημαγωγῶν, ὥσπερ θάλαττα ὑπ' ἀνέμων ἄλλων ἐπ'

¹ Steph συμφέροι ABC, Jacoby

² Cobet προεμένους O, Jacoby

others. of what crime am I guilty? Concerning myself, then, let this suffice

XXXII “But concerning the senate and the patricians I wish to say a few words to you, since the general hatred you plebeians bear toward them because they prevented the allotment of land hurts me also, and since my accuser too did not conceal this hatred, but made it no small part of his accusation against me And I shall speak with frankness; for I could not speak in any other fashion, nor would it be to your interest to hear me if I did You are not doing right in the eyes of men or the gods, plebeians, if, on the one hand, you show no gratitude for the many great benefits you have received from the senate, but, on the other hand, because, when you demanded a measure the concession of which would bring great harm to the public, the senate, not in any spirit of animosity toward you, but having in view the welfare of the commonwealth, opposed it, you angrily resent its action But what you ought to have done was, preferably, to accept the senate’s decisions as having been made with the best of motives and for the good of all and then to have desisted from your selfish striving; but if you were unable to restrain your inexpedient desire by means of sober reason, you should have sought to obtain these same ends by persuasion and not by violence For voluntary gifts are not only more pleasing to those who grant them than such as are extorted by force, but are also more lasting to those who receive them than those which are not freely given Of this truth you, however, as Heaven is my witness, take no account, but you are continually stirred up by your demagogues and roused to fury

ἄλλοις ἐπανισταμένων, ἀνακινούμενοί τε καὶ ἀγρι-
 αινόμενοι οὐδὲ τὸν ἐλάχιστον χρόνον ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ
 καὶ γαλήνῃ διακεῖσθαι τὴν πόλιν ἔατε τοιγάρτοι
 περίεστιν¹ ἡμῖν² κρείττονα ἡγεῖσθαι τῆς εἰρήνης τὸν
 πόλεμον· ὅταν μὲν γε πολεμῶμεν, τοὺς ἐχθροὺς
 5 κακῶς ποιοῦμεν, ὅταν δ' εἰρήνην ἄγωμεν, τοὺς
 φίλους. καίτοι, ὦ δημόται, εἰ μὲν ἅπαντα τὰ
 βουλευόμενα τοῦ συνεδρίου καλὰ καὶ συμφέροντα
 ἡγεῖσθ' εἶναι, ὥσπερ ἐστί, τί οὐχὶ καὶ τοῦτο ἐν ἐξ
 αὐτῶν ὑπολαμβάνετ' εἶναι, εἰ δὲ μηδὲν ἀπλῶς
 τὴν βουλὴν τῶν δεόντων οἴεσθε φρονεῖν, ἀλλ'
 αἰσχροῦς καὶ κακῶς τὴν πόλιν ἐπιτροπεύειν, τί δὴ
 ποτε οὐχὶ μεταστησάμενοι αὐτὴν ἀθρόαν, αὐτοὶ
 ἄρχετε καὶ βουλευέτε καὶ τοὺς ὑπὲρ τῆς ἡγεμονίας
 πολέμους ἐκφέρετε, ἀλλὰ περικνίζετε αὐτὴν καὶ
 κατὰ μικρὰ διαλύετε τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους ἀναρπά-
 ζοντες ἐν ταῖς δίκαις, ἅμεινον γὰρ ἦν³ ἅπασιν
 ἡμῖν κοινῇ πολεμεῖσθαι ἢ καθ' ἓνα ἕκαστον ἰδίᾳ
 6 συκοφαντεῖσθαι ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὐχ ὑμεῖς αἴτιοι τού-
 των, ὥσπερ ἔφην, ἀλλ' οἱ συνταράττοντες ὑμᾶς
 δημαγωγοὶ οὔτε ἄρχεσθαι ὑπομένοντες οὔτε ἄρχειν
 εἰδότες καὶ ὅσον μὲν ἐπὶ τῇ τούτων ἀφροσύνῃ τε
 καὶ ἀπειρίᾳ πολλάκις ἂν ὑμῖν τόδε τὸ σκάφος
 ἀνετράπη, νῦν δ' ἡ⁴ τὰ τούτων σφάλματα ἐπανορ-
 θοῦσα καὶ ἐν ὀρθῇ παρέχουσα ὑμῖν τῇ πόλει πλεῖν,⁵
 ἡ πλεῖστα δεινὰ ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἀκούουσά ἐστι βουλὴ
 7 ταῦτα εἴτε ἡδέα ἐστὶν ὑμῖν ἀκούειν εἴτε ἀνιαιρά,
 μετὰ πάσης ἀληθείας εἴρηταί μοι καὶ τετόλμηται·

¹ Kiessling · πάρεστιν O, παρέστη Sintenis, Jacoby, παρ-
 ἔστηκεν Post

² ἡμῖν R(?) ὑμῖν ABb

³ ἦν om B

⁴ δ' ἡ Reiske δὴ Ba, δὲ ABb

⁵ πλεῖν added here by Jacoby, after ὀρθῇ by Reiske

even as is the sea by winds that spring up one after another, and you do not permit the commonwealth to remain calm and serene for even the briefest space of time. The result, therefore, is that we prefer war to peace, at any rate, when we Romans are at war, we hurt our enemies, but when at peace, our friends. And yet, plebeians, if you regard all the resolutions of the senate as excellent and advantageous, as they really are, why do you not assume this also to be one of them? If, however, you believe that the senate takes no thought at all for the things it should, but governs the commonwealth dishonourably and basely, why in the world do you not abolish it bag and baggage and yourselves govern and deliberate and wage wars in defence of our empire, rather than pare it down and destroy it by degrees by making away with its most important members in your trials? For it would be better for all of us to be attacked together in war than for each one separately to be the victim of false accusations. However, it is not you, as I said, who are the authors of these disorders, but rather the demagogues, who keep you stirred up and who are neither willing to be ruled nor capable of ruling. Indeed, so far as their imprudence and inexperience could accomplish it, this ship of yours would have foundered many times over, but as it is, the power which corrects their errors and enables your commonwealth to sail on an even keel is the senate, so greatly maligned by them. These remarks, whether they are pleasant for you to hear or vexatious, have been uttered and hazarded by me in all sincerity; and I

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καὶ μᾶλλον αἰροίμην ἂν παρρησίᾳ συμφερούσῃ τῷ κοινῷ χρώμενος ἀποθανεῖν ἢ τὰ πρὸς ἡδονὴν ὑμῖν λέγων σεσῶσθαι ”

XXXIII Τοιούτους εἰπὼν λόγους καὶ οὔτε πρὸς ὀλοφυρμούς καὶ ἀνακλαύσεις τῆς συμφορᾶς τραπόμενος οὔτε ἐν δεήσεσι καὶ προκυλισμοῖς ἀσχήμοσι ταπεινὸς φανείς οὔτ’ ἄλλην ἀγεννῇ διάθεσιν ἀποδειξάμενος οὐδεμίαν παρέδωκε τὸν λόγον τοῖς συναγορεύειν ἢ μαρτυρεῖν βουλομένοις πολλοὶ μὲν οὖν καὶ ἄλλοι παριόντες ἀπέλυον αὐτὸν τῆς αἰτίας, μάλιστα δὲ Οὐεργίνιος ὁ κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν ὑπατεύσας χρόνον καὶ τῆς νίκης αἴτιος εἶναι δοκῶν ὃς οὐ μόνον ἀναίτιον αὐτὸν ἀπέφαινε, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὡς κράτιστον ἀνδρῶν τὰ πολέμια καὶ στρατηγῶν φρονιμώτατον ἐπαινείσθαι τε καὶ τιμᾶσθαι ὑπὸ
 2 πάντων ἡξίου ἔφη δὲ δεῖν, εἰ μὲν ἀγαθὸν οἴονται τέλος εἰληφέναι τὸν πόλεμον, ἀμφοτέροις σφίσι τὴν χάριν εἰδέναι, εἰ δὲ πονηρόν, ἀμφοτέρους ζημιοῦν κοινὰ γὰρ αὐτοῖς καὶ τὰ βουλευματα καὶ τὰ ἔργα καὶ τὰς ἐκ τοῦ δαιμονίου τύχας γεγονέναι ἦν δ’ οὐ μόνον ὁ λόγος τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ βίος πείθων, ἐν ᾗ πᾶσιν ἐξητασμένος ἔργοις ἀγα-
 3 θοῖς προσῆν δὲ τούτοις, ὁ πλεῖστον ἐκίνησεν οἰκτον, ὅψεως σχῆμα συμπαθές, οἷον περὶ αὐτοὺς τοὺς πεπονθότας ἢ μέλλοντας πάσχειν τὰ δεινὰ γίνεσθαι φιλεῖ ὥστε καὶ τοὺς προσήκοντας τοῖς ἀπολωλόσι καὶ δοκοῦντας ἀδιαλλάκτως ἔχειν πρὸς τὸν αἴτιον σφίσι τῆς συμφορᾶς μαλακωτέρους γενέσθαι καὶ ἀποθέσθαι τὴν ὀργήν, ὡς ἐδήλωσαν

had rather lose my life by using a freedom of speech that is advantageous for the commonwealth than save it by flattering you "

XXXIII Having spoken in this manner and without either resorting to lamentations and wailings over his misfortune or abasing himself by entreaties and unseemly grovelling at the feet of anyone, and without displaying any other mark of an ignoble nature, he yielded the floor to those who desired to speak or bear witness in his favour. Many came forward and sought to clear him of the charge, and particularly Verginius, who had been consul at the same time with him and was regarded as having been the cause of the victory. He not only declared Servilius to be innocent, but argued that, as the bravest of men in war and the most prudent of generals, he deserved to be praised and honoured by all. He said that if they thought the war had ended favourably, they ought to feel grateful to both commanders, but if unfavourably, they ought to punish them both, for not only their plans, but also their actions and the fortunes meted out to them by Heaven had belonged to them both alike. Not only were the man's words convincing, but his whole life as well, which had been tested in all manner of good deeds. He had moreover—and this it was that stirred the greatest compassion—a look of fellow-suffering, such a look as one is apt to see on the faces of those who themselves have suffered calamities or are about to suffer them. Hence even the relations of the men who had lost their lives in the battle and seemed irreconcilable to the author of their misfortune became softened and laid aside their resentment, as they presently made evident. For

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ἀναδοθεισῶν γὰρ τῶν ψήφων οὐδεμία φυλὴ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς κατεψηφίσατο ὁ μὲν οὖν τὸν Σερουίλιον καταλαβὼν κίνδυνος τοιούτου τέλους ἔτυχεν.

XXXIV Οὐ πολλῶ δ' ὕστερον χρόνῳ στρατιὰ Ῥωμαίων ἐξῆλθεν ἐπὶ Τυρρηνοὺς ἄγοντος θατέρου τῶν ὑπάτων Ποπλίου Οὐαλερίου. συνέστη γὰρ αὐθις ἡ Οὐιεντανῶν δύναμις προσθεμένων αὐτοῖς Σαβίνων, οἱ τέως ὀκνοῦντες αὐτοῖς συνάρασθαι τοῦ πολέμου ὡς ἀδυνάτων ἐφιεμένοις, τότε, ἐπειδὴ τὴν τε Μενηνίου φυγὴν ἔγνωσαν καὶ τὸν ἐπιτειχισμόν τοῦ πλησίον τῆς Ῥώμης ὅρους, τεταπεινώσθαι νομίσαντες τὰς τε¹ δυνάμεις τὰς² Ῥωμαίων καὶ τὸ φρόνημα τῆς πόλεως ἡττηθῆναι, συνελάμβανον ² τοῖς Τυρρηνοῖς πολλὴν ἀποστείλαντες δύναμιν. οἱ δὲ Οὐιεντανοὶ τῇ τε σφετέρᾳ δυνάμει πεποιθότες καὶ τῇ Σαβίνων νεωστὶ ἡκούσῃ καὶ³ τὰς παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων Τυρρηνῶν ἐπικουρίας περιμένοντες προθυμίαν μὲν εἶχον ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥώμην ἐλαύνειν τῇ πλείονι τῆς σφετέρας στρατιᾶς, ὡς οὐδενὸς αὐτοῖς ὁμόσε χωρήσοντος, ἀλλὰ δυεῖν θάτερον, ἢ ἐκ τειχομαχίας αἰρήσοντες τὴν πόλιν ἢ λιμῶ κατεργασόμενοι ⁴ ³ ἔφθασε δὲ τὴν ἐπιχείρησιν αὐτῶν ὁ Οὐαλέριος, ἐν ᾧ ἔτι ἔμελλον ἐκεῖνοι καὶ τοὺς ὑστερίζοντας συμμάχους ἀνέμενον, αὐτὸς ἀγαγὼν Ῥωμαίων τὴν κρατίστην ἀκμὴν καὶ τὸ παρὰ τῶν συμμάχων ἐπικουρικόν, οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ ποιησάμενος τὴν ἔξοδον, ἀλλ' ὡς μάλιστα λήσεσθαι αὐτοὺς ἔμελλε προελθὼν γὰρ ἐκ τῆς Ῥώμης περὶ δειλὴν ὀψίαν καὶ διαβὰς τὸν Τέβεριν, οὐ μακρὰν ἀποσχὼν τῆς πόλεως κατεστρατοπέδευσεν ἔπειτ' ἀναστήσας τὴν

¹ τε deleted by Reiske

² τὰς B . om R.

³ καὶ Cmg : om R.

when the votes had been taken, not a single tribe condemned him. Such was the outcome of the jeopardy in which Servilius had been placed

XXXIV. Not long afterwards¹ an army of the Romans marched out against the Tyrrhenians under the command of Publius Valerius, one of the consuls. For the forces of the Veientes had again assembled and had been joined by the Sabines. The latter had hitherto hesitated to assist them in the war, fearing that they were aiming at the impossible, but now, when they learned both of the flight of Menenius and of the fortifying of the hill close to the city, concluding that the forces of the Romans had been humbled and that the spirit of the commonwealth had been broken, they proceeded to aid the Tyrrhenians, sending them a large body of troops. The Veientes, relying both on their own forces and on those of the Sabines which had just come to them, and expecting reinforcements from the rest of the Tyrrhenians, were eager to march on Rome with the greater part of their army, in the belief that none would oppose them, but that they should either take the city by storm or reduce it by famine. But Valerius forestalled their plan, while they were still delaying and waiting for the allies who tarried, by setting out himself with the flower of the Roman youth and with the auxiliary force from the allies, not openly, but in such a manner as would conceal his march from the enemy so far as possible. For, advancing from Rome in the late afternoon and crossing the Tiber, he encamped at a short distance from the city; then, rousing the army about mid-

¹ For chaps 34 f. cf LIVY II 53.

⁴ κατεργασόμενοι C : κατεργασμένοι AB

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στρατιὰν περὶ μέσας νύκτας ἤγεν ἐν τάχει,¹ καὶ πρὶν ἡμέραν γενέσθαι θατέρῳ χάρακι τῶν πολεμίων ἐπέβαλε δύο γὰρ ἦν στρατόπεδα, χωρὶς μὲν τὸ Τυρρηνῶν, ἐτέρῳθι δὲ τὸ Σαβίνων, οὐ διὰ μακροῦ ἀλλήλων ἀπέχοντα. πρώτη δὲ προσαγαγὼν τὴν δύναμιν τῇ Σαβίνων στρατοπεδείᾳ, καθυπνωμένων ἔτι τῶν πλείστων καὶ οὐδεμιᾶς οὔσης ἀξιολόγου φυλακῆς, οἷα ἐν φιλίᾳ τε γῇ καὶ κατὰ πολλὴν ὑπεροψίαν τῶν πολεμίων οὐδαμῇ ἀγγελ-
 4 λομένων, ἐξ ἐφόδου γίνεται ταύτης ἐγκρατῆς τῶν δ' ἀνθρώπων οἱ μὲν ἐν ταῖς κοιταῖς ἔτι ὄντες κατεσφάγησαν, οἱ δ' ἀνιστάμενοι ἀρτίως καὶ τὰ ὅπλα ἐνδυνόμενοι, οἱ δ' ὥπλισμένοι μὲν, σποράδες δὲ καὶ οὐκ ἐν τάξει ἀμυνόμενοι, οἱ δὲ πλείστοι φεύγοντες ἐπὶ τὸν ἕτερον χάρακα ὑπὸ τῶν ἱππέων καταλαμβανόμενοι διεφθάρησαν.

XXXV Τοῦτον δὲ τὸν τρόπον ἀλόντος τοῦ τῶν Σαβίνων χάρακος ἤγε τὴν δύναμιν ὁ Οὐαλέριος ἐπὶ τὸν ἕτερον, ἔνθα ἦσαν οἱ Οὐιεντανοὶ χωρίον οὐ πάννυ ἐχυρὸν κατειληφότες λαθεῖν μὲν οὖν οὐκέτι ἐνεδέχετο τοὺς προσιόντας τῷ χάρακι ἡμέρα τε γὰρ ἦν ἤδη λαμπρά, καὶ τῶν Σαβίνων οἱ φεύγον-
 2 τες² ἀπήγγειλαν τοῖς Τυρρηνοῖς τὴν τε αὐτῶν συμφορὰν καὶ τὴν ἐπ' ἐκείνους ἔλασιν ἀναγκαῖον δ' ἦν ἐκ τοῦ καρτεροῦ³ τοῖς πολεμίοις συμφέρεσθαι
 2 γίνεται δὲ μετὰ τοῦτο πάσῃ προθυμίᾳ τῶν Τυρρηνῶν ἀγωνιζομένων πρὸ τῆς παρεμβολῆς ὀξεῖα μάχῃ καὶ φόνος ἀμφοτέρων πολὺς, ἰσόρροπός τε καὶ μέχρι πολλοῦ ταλαντευομένη τῇδε καὶ τῇδε ἡ κρίσις τοῦ πολέμου ἔπειτα ἐνέδοσαν οἱ Τυρρηνοὶ

¹ ἐν τάχει Kiessling . ἐν τάξει O

² φυγόντες Sintenis, Jacoby

night, he marched in haste¹ and, before it was day, attacked one of the enemy's camps. For there were two camps, separate but at no great distance from one another, one of the Tyrrhenians and the other of the Sabines. The first camp he attacked was that of the Sabines, where most of the men were still asleep and there was no guard worth mentioning, inasmuch as they were in friendly territory and felt great contempt for the enemy, whose presence had not been reported from any quarter, and he took it by storm. Some of the Sabines were slain in their beds, others just as they were getting up and arming themselves, and still others, who, though armed, were dispersed and fighting in disorder, but the larger part of them were intercepted and destroyed by the Roman horse while they were endeavouring to escape to the other camp.

XXXV The camp of the Sabines having thus been taken, Valerius led his forces to the other camp, where the Veientes lay, having occupied a position that was not very strong. Here it was not possible for the attackers to approach the camp without being seen, since it was now broad daylight and the fleeing Sabines had informed the Tyrrhenians both of their own disaster and of the advance of the Romans against the others; hence it was necessary to attack the enemy with might and main. Then, as the Tyrrhenians fought before their camp with all possible vigour, a sharp action ensued, with great slaughter on both sides, and the decision of the battle was equally balanced, shifting to and fro for a long time. At last

¹ "In haste" is Kiessling's emendation for "in battle array," the reading of the MSS.

³ κατὰ τὸ κατεργόν Cobet

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ὑπὸ τῆς Ῥωμαικῆς ἐξωσθέντες ἵππου καὶ ἀπ-
 εχώρησαν εἰς τὸν χάρακα, ὃ δ' ὑπατος ἠκολούθει,
 καὶ ἐπειδὴ πλησίον ἐγένετο τῶν ἐρυμάτων (ἦν δὲ
 φαύλως κατεσκευασμένα καὶ τὸ χωρίον, ὥσπερ
 ἔφην, οὐ πάνυ ἀσφαλές) προσέβαλε κατὰ πολλὰ
 μέρη τό τε λοιπὸν ἐκείνης τῆς ἡμέρας μέρος
 ἐπιταλαιπωρῶν καὶ οὐδὲ τὴν ἐπιούσαν νύκτα ἀνα-
 3 παυσάμενος οἱ δὲ Τυρρηνοὶ ταῖς συνεχέσι κακο-
 παθείαις ἀπειρηκότες ἐκλείπουσι τὸν χάρακα περὶ
 τὸν ὄρθρον καὶ οἱ μὲν εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἔφυγον,¹ οἱ δ'
 εἰς τὰς πλησίον ὕλας ἐσκεδάσθησαν. γενόμενος δὲ
 καὶ τούτου τοῦ χάρακος ἐγκρατὴς ἐκείνην μὲν τὴν
 ἡμέραν ἀνέπαυσε τὴν στρατιάν, τῇ δ' ἐξῆς τά τε
 λάφυρα ὅσα ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων εἰλήφει τῶν στρατο-
 πέδων διένειμε τοῖς ἀγωνισαμένοις πολλὰ ὄντα, καὶ
 τοὺς ἀριστεύσαντας ἐν ταῖς μάχαις τοῖς εἰωθόσιν
 4 ἐκόσμιε στεφάνοις ἦν δ' ὁ κράτιστα πάντων
 ἀγωνίσασθαι δόξας καὶ τρεψάμενος τὴν Οὐιεντα-
 νῶν δύναμιν Σερουίλιος ὁ τῷ προτέρῳ ὑπατεύσας
 ἔτει καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ τοῦ δήμου δίκην ἀποφυγών,
 πρεσβευτῆς τότε τῷ Οὐαλερίῳ συμπεμφθεὶς, καὶ
 ἐπὶ τῇ ἀριστείᾳ τῇδε τὰς νομιζομένας εἶναι μεγί-
 στας παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις δωρεὰς οὗτος ἦν ὁ πρῶτος
 ἐξενεγκάμενος. μετὰ ταῦτα τοὺς τε τῶν πολεμίων
 σκυλεύσας νεκροὺς ὁ ὑπατος καὶ τῶν ἰδίων ταφὰς
 ποιησάμενος ἀπῆγε² τὴν στρατιάν καὶ πλησίον τῆς
 Οὐιεντανῶν πόλεως³ καταστήσας προὔκαλεῖτο τοὺς
 5 ἔνδον ὥς δ' οὐδεὶς ἐξῆι μαχησόμενος ἄπορον ὁρῶν
 χρήμα ἐκ τειχομαχίας αὐτοὺς ἐλεῖν ἐχυρὰν σφόδρα
 ἔχοντας πόλιν, τῆς γῆς αὐτῶν πολλὴν καταδραμῶν

¹ Sylburg ἔφευγον Ο

² Sintenis : ἐξῆγε Ο

³ πόλεως Sylburg : χώρας Ο.

the Tyrrhenians, forced back by the Roman horse, gave way and retired to their camp. The consul followed, and when he came near their ramparts—these had been poorly constructed and the place, as I said, was not very secure—he attacked them in many places at once, continuing his exhausting efforts all the rest of that day and not even resting the following night. The Tyrrhenians, exhausted by their continual hardships, left their camp at break of day, some fleeing to their city and others dispersing themselves in the neighbouring woods. The consul, having made himself master of this camp also, rested his army that day; then, on the next day he distributed to the men who had shared in the fighting the spoils, great in quantity, which he had taken in both camps, and honoured with the customary crowns those who had distinguished themselves in the battles. The man who was regarded as having fought with the greatest bravery of all and put the troops of the Veientes to flight was Servilius, the consul of the preceding year, who had been acquitted in his trial before the populace and now had been sent along as legate to Valerius, and in consideration of the superior valour he showed upon this occasion he was the first to receive the rewards which among the Romans are the most esteemed. After that the consul, having stripped the enemy's dead and buried his own, marched away with his army, and encamping near the city of the Veientes, challenged those inside to give battle. But when none ventured out to fight and he saw that it would be a difficult matter to capture them by assault, occupying as they did a city that was exceedingly strong, he overran a great part of their country and then invaded that of the

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εἰς τὴν Σαβίνων ἐνέβαλε λεηλατήσας δὲ κακείνην ἔτι ἀκέραιον οὖσαν ἐπὶ πολλὰς ἡμέρας καὶ βαρεῖαν ἤδη τὴν ἀποσκευὴν ἔχων ταῖς ὠφελείαις ἀπήγεν ἐπ' οἴκου τὴν δύναμιν καὶ αὐτῷ ὁ μὲν δῆμος πρὸ πολλοῦ τῆς πόλεως ὄντι ἐστεφανωμένος ὑπήντα λιβανωτοῖς τε θυμιῶν τὴν πάροδον καὶ κρατῆρσι μελικράτου κεκραμένοις ὑποδεχόμενος τὴν στρατιάν ἡ δὲ βουλὴ τὴν τοῦ θριάμβου πομπὴν ἐψήφισατο.

- 6 Ὁ δ' ἕτερος τῶν ὑπάτων Γάιος Ναύτιος, ᾧ προσέκειτο κατὰ κλῆρον ἡ τῶν συμμάχων Λατίνων τε καὶ Ἑρνίκων φυλακὴ, βραδυτέραν ἐποιήσατο τὴν ἔξοδον, οὔτε ἀπορίᾳ οὔτε ὄκνῳ τοῦ κινδύνου κρατηθεῖς, τὴν δ' ἀδηλότητα τοῦ πρὸς Οὐιεντανοὺς πολέμου караδοκῶν, ἵν' ἐάν τι συμβῇ πταῖσμα περὶ τὴν ἐκεῖ στρατιάν ἐν ἐτοιμῳ τις ὑπάρχη τῇ πόλει συνεστῶσα δύναμις ἢ κωλύσει τοὺς πολεμίους εἰς τὴν χώραν ἐμβαλεῖν, ἐὰν ὥσπερ¹ οἱ πρότερον ἐλάσαντες ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥώμην ἐπιτειχίζειν τινὰ
- 7 κατὰ τῆς πόλεως χωρία ἐπιβάλωνται ἐν δὲ τῷ μεταξὺ τούτου χρόνῳ καὶ ὁ κατὰ τῶν Λατίνων πόλεμος, ὃν ἐπήγον αὐτοῖς Αἰκανοὶ τε καὶ Οὐολούσκοι, τέλος εὐτυχὲς ἔσχε καὶ παρῆσαν τινες ἀγγέλλοντες μάχῃ νικηθέντας ἀπεληλυθέναι τοὺς πολεμίους ἐκ τῆς χώρας αὐτῶν, καὶ μηδεμιᾶς τοῖς συμμάχοις ἔτι δεῖν βοηθείας κατὰ τὸ παρόν ὁ μέντοι Ναύτιος οὐδὲν ἤττον, ἐπειδὴ τὰ ἐν τῇ Τυρρηνίᾳ πράγματα καλῶς σφίσιν ἐχώρησεν, ἐξῆγε τὴν
- 8 στρατιάν ἐμβαλὼν δ' εἰς τὴν Οὐολούσκων χώραν καὶ πολλὴν αὐτῆς διεξελθὼν ἔρημον ἀφειμένην, ἀνδραπόδων μὲν καὶ βοσκημάτων ὀλίγων πάνυ²

¹ ὥσπερ Steph. . ὅπερ ABC

Sabines For many days he plundered their territory too, which was still untouched, and then, since his baggage train was now heavily laden with booty, he led his troops homeward While he was yet a long way from the city he was met by the people, who, crowned with garlands, perfumed the route with frankincense as he entered and received the army with bowls of honeyed wine And the senate decreed to him the celebration of a triumph

The other consul, Gaius Nautius, to whom the defence of their allies the Latins and the Hernicans had fallen by lot, had delayed taking the field, not because he was swayed by any irresolution or fear of danger, but because he was awaiting the uncertain outcome of the war with the Veientes, to the end that, if any misfortune should befall the army employed against them the commonwealth might have another force assembled in readiness to hinder the enemy from making an irruption into the country, in case this foe, like those who had earlier marched against Rome, should attempt to fortify any places as a threat to the city In the meantime the war brought upon the Latins by the Aequians and the Volscians had been happily concluded and messengers had arrived announcing that the enemy, defeated in battle, had left the territory of the Latins and that these allies no longer stood in any need of assistance for the present Nevertheless, Nautius, after affairs in Tyrrhenia had taken a happy turn for the Romans, marched out with his army Then, having invaded the country of the Volscians and overrun a great part of it which they had left deserted, he possessed

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ἐκράτησεν, ἀρούρας δ' αὐτῶν ἐν ἀκμῇ τοῦ σίτου ὄντος ἐμπρήσας καὶ ἄλλα οὐκ ὀλίγα τῶν ἐν τοῖς ἀγροῖς λωβησάμενος οὐδενὸς ὁμόσε χωροῦντος ἀπήγε τὴν στρατιάν ταῦτα μὲν ἐπὶ τούτων τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐπράχθη.

XXXVI Οἱ δὲ διαδεξάμενοι τούτους ὑπατοὶ Ἀῦλος Μάλλιος καὶ Λεύκιος Φούριος, ψηφισαμένης τῆς βουλῆς τὸν ἕτερον αὐτῶν στρατιάν ἐπὶ Οὐιεντανοὺς ἄγειν, ἐκληρώσαντο περὶ τῆς ἐξόδου, καθάπερ αὐτοῖς ἔθος ἦν. καὶ λαχὼν Μάλλιος ἐξῆγε τὰς δυνάμεις διὰ ταχέων καὶ πλησίον τῶν πολεμίων κατεστρατοπέδευεν. οἱ δὲ Οὐιεντανοὶ τειχήρεις γενόμενοι τέως μὲν ἀντείχον καὶ διεπρεσβεύοντο πρὸς τε τὰς ἄλλας τὰς ἐν Τυρρηνοῖς πόλεις καὶ πρὸς τοὺς νεωστὶ συμμαχήσαντας αὐτοῖς Σαβίνους, βοήθειαν ἀξιοῦντες ἀποστεῖλαι σφίσι διὰ ταχέων.
 2 ὥς δ' ἀπάντων ἀπετύγχανον καὶ τὰς τροφὰς ἀπαναλώκεσαν, ὑπὸ τῆς ἀνάγκης¹ βιασθέντες ἐξῆλθον ὥς τὸν ὑπατον, ἱκετηρίας φέροντες οἱ πρεσβύτατοί τ' αὐτῶν καὶ τιμιώτατοι, περὶ καταλύσεως δεόμενοι τοῦ πολέμου τοῦ δὲ Μαλλίου κελεύσαντος αὐτοῖς ἀργύριον τε εἰς ὀψωνιασμὸν ἐνιαυτοῦ τῇ στρατιᾷ καὶ διμήνου τροφὰς ἀποφέρειν, ὅταν δὲ ταῦτα ποιήσωσιν, εἰς Ῥώμην ἀποστέλλειν τοὺς διαλεξομένους τῇ βουλῇ περὶ τῶν διαλύσεων, ἐπαινέσαντες ταῦτα καὶ διὰ ταχέων τό τε ὀψώνιον τῇ στρατιᾷ καὶ τὸ ἀντὶ τοῦ σίτου συγχωρηθὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ Μαλλίου κατενέγκαντες² ἀργύριον ἤκον εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην καὶ καταστάντες ἐπὶ τὴν βουλὴν συγγνώμης ἐπὶ τοῖς γεγονόσι τυχεῖν ἡξίου καὶ εἰς τὸν λοιπὸν χρόνον

¹ τοῦ λιμοῦ after ἀνάγκης deleted by Kiessling

² Jacoby . κατενεγκόντες O.

himself of a very few slaves and cattle, and having set fire to their fields, the corn being then ripe, and done not a little other damage to their farmsteads, as none came to oppose him, he led his army home. These were the things accomplished in the consulship of those men.

XXXVI. Their successors in the consulship,¹ Aulus Manlius and Lucius Furius, after the senate had voted that one of them should march against the Veientes, drew lots, according to their custom, to determine which should command the expedition. And the lot falling to Manlius, he speedily led out the troops and encamped near the enemy. The Veientes, being shut up within their walls, defended themselves for some time; and sending ambassadors both to the other cities of Tyrrhenia and to the Sabines who had lately assisted them, they asked them to send them aid promptly. But when they failed of everything they asked for and had consumed all their provisions, the oldest and most honoured among them, compelled by necessity, came out of the city to the consul with the tokens of suppliants, begging for an end to the war. Manlius ordered them to bring money for a year's pay for the army and provisions for two months and after doing this to send envoys to Rome to treat with the senate for peace. And they, having approved these conditions and speedily brought the pay for the army, together with the money which the consul permitted them to pay in lieu of the corn, came to Rome; and being introduced into the senate, they sought to obtain forgiveness for the past and for

¹ Cf. Livy II 54, 1 f.

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3 ἀπαλλαγῆς τοῦ πολέμου πολλῶν δὲ λεχθέντων εἰς ἀμφοτέρωθεν τὰ μέρη λόγων ἐνίκησεν ἢ σπένδεσθαι παραινοῦσα τὸν πρὸς αὐτοὺς πόλεμον γνώμη, γίνονται τ' ἀνοχαὶ τοῦ πολέμου πρὸς αὐτοὺς τεσσαρακονταετείς. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἀπῆρσαν πολλὰς τῇ πόλει τῆς εἰρήνης χάριτας εἰδότες, ὁ δὲ Μάλλιος ἀφικόμενος εἰς τὴν πόλιν, ἐπὶ τῇ καταλύσει τοῦ πολέμου τὸν πεζὸν θρίαμβον αἰτησάμενος, ἔλαβεν ἐγένετο δὲ καὶ τίμησις ἐπὶ τῆς τούτων ἀρχῆς, καὶ ἦσαν οἱ τιμησάμενοι πολῖται σφᾶς τε αὐτοὺς καὶ χρήματα καὶ τοὺς ἐν ἡβῇ παῖδας ὀλίγῳ πλείους τρισχιλίων τε καὶ δέκα¹ μυριάδων

XXXVII Οἱ δὲ μετὰ τούτους παραλαβόντες τὴν ὑπατον ἀρχήν, Λεύκιος Αἰμίλιος Μάμερκος τὸ τρίτον, καὶ Οὐοπίσκος Ἰούλιος, ἐπὶ τῆς ἐβδόμης καὶ ἐβδομηκοστῆς ὀλυμπιάδος, ἦν ἐνῖκα στάδιον Δάνδης² Ἀργεῖος, Ἀθήνησι δ' ἄρχοντος Χάρητος, ἐπίπονον σφόδρα καὶ ταραχώδῃ τὴν ἀρχὴν διετέλεσαν, εἰρήνην μὲν ἄγοντες ἀπὸ τῶν ἔξωθεν πολέμων (ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ γὰρ ἦν πάντα τὰ διάφορα), ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει στάσεων αὐτοὶ τε εἰς κινδύνους ἀχθέντες καὶ τὴν πόλιν ὀλίγου δεήσαντες ἀπολέσαι ὥς γὰρ ἀνεπαύσατο τῶν στρατειῶν τὸ πλῆθος, ἐπὶ τὴν διανομὴν εὐθὺς ὥρμησε τῶν δημοσίων ἀγρῶν.

2 ἦν γάρ τις ἐν τοῖς δημάρχοις θρασὺς καὶ λέγειν οὐκ ἀδύνατος ἀνὴρ, Γναῖος Γενύκιος, ὁ παραθήγων τὰς ὀργὰς τῶν πενήτων οὗτος ἐκκλησίας συνάγων ἐκάστοτε καὶ ἐκδημαγωγῶν τοὺς ἀπόρους προσ-

¹ καὶ τρισκαίδεκα B

² Rutgers (*cf* Diod xi 53, 1) δάτις A, δάντιος Ba, δάντις Bb.

¹ Literally, "the triumph on foot", see v 47, 2 f.

the future to be freed from the war. After many arguments on both sides, the motion prevailed to put an end to the war by a treaty, and a truce was granted to them for forty years. Then the envoys departed, feeling very grateful to the commonwealth for the peace. And Manlius, coming to the city, requested and received an ovation¹ for having put an end to the war. There was also a census in this consulship; the number of the citizens who registered their own names, their wealth, and the names of their sons who had reached manhood was a little over 103,000.²

XXXVII These consuls³ were succeeded by Lucius Aemilius Mamercus (elected for the third time) and Vopiscus Julus, in the seventy-seventh Olympiad⁴ (the one at which Dandes of Argos won the foot-race), when Chares was archon at Athens. The administration of the new consuls was very difficult and turbulent; they enjoyed peace, it is true, from foreign wars—for all their quarrels were in a state of quiet—but through the dissensions at home they were not only themselves exposed to dangers, but came near destroying the commonwealth as well. For as soon as the populace had a respite from military expeditions, they at once became eager for a distribution of the public lands. It seems there was among the tribunes a certain bold man, not wanting in eloquence, Gnaeus Genucius, who whetted the passions of the poor. This man, by assembling the populace on every occasion and cajoling the needy,

² One of our best MSS. (B) gives 133,000, but this is probably a scribal error.

³ For chaps 37-39 cf. Livy II 54, 2-55, 11.

⁴ 471 B.C.

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ηνάγκαζε τοὺς ὑπάτους τὰ ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς ψηφισ-
 θέντα περὶ τῆς κληρουχίας συντελεῖν. οἱ δ' οὐχ
 ὑπήκουον, οὐ τῇ ἑαυτῶν ἀρχῇ λέγοντες ἐπιτετάχθαι
 τὸ ἔργον ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς, ἀλλὰ τοῖς μετὰ Κάσσιον
 καὶ Οὐεργίνιον ὑπάτοις, πρὸς οὓς τὸ¹ προβούλευμα
 ἐγράφη καὶ ἅμα οὐδ' εἶναι νόμους εἰς αἰεὶ κυρίους
 ἃ ψηφίζεται τὸ συνέδριον, ἀλλὰ πολιτεύματα και-
 3 ρῶν² ἐνιαύσιον ἔχοντα ἰσχύν. ταύτας προβαλλο-
 μένων τῶν ὑπάτων τὰς αἰτίας ἀδύνατος ὢν ὁ
 Γενύκιος αὐτοὺς ἀναγκάσαι μείζονα ἐξουσίαν ἔχον-
 τας ἱταμὴν ὁδὸν ἐτράπετο. τοῖς γὰρ ὑπατεύσασι
 τὸ ἔμπροσθεν ἔτος Μαλλίῳ τε καὶ Λευκίῳ δίκην
 ἐπήνεγκε δημοσίαν, καὶ προεῖπεν ἡκεῖν ἐπὶ τὸν
 δῆμον ἀπολογησομένους, ὀρίσας ἀντικρυς τὴν αἰ-
 τίαν τῆς δίκης, ὅτι τὸν δῆμον ἀδικοῦσιν οὐκ ἀπο-
 δείξαντες τοὺς δέκα ἄνδρας οὓς ἐψηφίσαστο ἡ βουλή,
 4 τοὺς ποιησομένους τὴν τῶν κλήρων διανομὴν τοῦ
 δὲ μὴ τῶν ἄλλων τινὰς ὑπάτων ἄγειν ἐπὶ τὴν δίκην,
 δώδεκα γενομένων τῶν μεταξὺ ἀρχείων ἀφ' οὗ τὸ
 προβούλευμα ἐγράφη, τούτους δὲ προβαλέσθαι τοὺς
 ἄνδρας μόνους τῆς ψευσθείσης ὑποσχέσεως, ἐπι-
 εικεῖς ἔφερεν αἰτίας καὶ τελευτῶν ἔφη μόνως ἂν
 οὕτως ἀναγκασθῆναι τοὺς ἐν ἀρχῇ τότε ὄντας
 ὑπάτους κληρουχῆσαι τὴν γῆν, εἰάν ἐτέρους τινὰς
 ἴδωσι δίκην τῷ δήμῳ διδόντας, ἐνθυμηθέντας ὅτι
 καὶ σφίσιν αὐτοῖς συμβήσεται τὸ αὐτὸ παθεῖν

XXXVIII Ταῦτ' εἰπὼν καὶ παρακαλέσας ἅπαν-

¹ τὸ ABa . καὶ τὸ Bb, Jacoby

² καιρῶν B καιρὸν R , πολιτεύματα ἕνεκα καιρῶν οἱ π κατὰ
 καιρὸν Capps

¹ Cf viii 76, 2

² The decree was passed late in the year 484 (viii 76, 2),

was endeavouring to force the consuls to carry out the decree of the senate concerning the allotment of lands. But the consuls kept refusing to do so, alleging that this duty had been assigned by the senate, not to them, but to the consuls who immediately followed Cassius and Veiginius, with reference to whom the preliminary decree had been drawn up.¹ At the same time they pointed out that decrees of the senate were not laws continuing in force forever, but measures designed to meet temporary needs and having validity for one year only. When the consuls put forward these excuses, Genucius, finding himself unable to employ compulsion against them, since they were invested with a superior authority, took a bold course. He brought a public suit against Manlius and Lucius, the consuls of the preceding year, and summoned them to appear before the populace and make their defence, specifying openly the ground for the action, which was that they had wronged the populace in not appointing the decemvirs directed by the senate to distribute the allotments of land. And he advanced plausible reasons for not bringing to trial some of the other consuls, though there had been twelve consulships in the interval since the senate had drawn up this decree,² and for accusing only these men of violating the promise. He ended by saying that the only way the present consuls could be compelled to allot the land would be for them to see some others punished by the populace and thus be reminded that it would be their fate to meet with the same treatment.

XXXVIII After he had said this and exhorted

Genucius was tribune in 471 (Both dates according to Dionysius' chronology)

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τας ἤκειν¹ ἐπὶ τὴν δίκην, καθ' ἱερῶν τε ὁμόσας ἢ
 μὴν ἔμμενεν τοῖς ἐγνωσμένοις καὶ πάσῃ προθυμία
 τῶν ἀνδρῶν κατηγορήσειν,² ἡμέραν προεῖπεν ἐν ἣ
 τὴν δίκην ἔμελλεν ἐπιτελέσειν. τοὺς δὲ πατρικίους,
 ὥς ἔμαθον ταῦτα, πολὺ δέος εἰσέρχεται καὶ φροντίς,
 ὅτῳ χρή τρόπῳ τοὺς τε ἀνδρας ἐκλύσασθαι τῆς
 αἰτίας καὶ τοῦ δημαγωγοῦ τὸ θράσος ἐπισχεῖν
 καὶ δὴ ἐδέδοκτο αὐτοῖς, εἴ τι ψηφίσαιτο κατὰ τῆς
 ἀρχῆς τῶν ὑπάτων ὁ δῆμος, μὴ ἐπιτρέπειν αὐτῷ
 κατὰ τὸ καρτερόν ἐνισταμένους καὶ εἰ δέοι καὶ εἰς
 2 ὅπλα χωροῦντας οὐ μὴν ἐδέησέ γε τῶν βιαίων
 οὐδενὸς αὐτοῖς ταχείαν λαβόντος τοῦ κινδύνου καὶ
 παράδοξον τὴν λύσιν μιᾶς γὰρ ἡμέρας οὔσης ἔτι
 λοιπῆς τῇ δίκῃ³ νεκρὸς Γενύκιος ἐπὶ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ
 κοίτης εὐρέθη, σημεῖον οὐδὲν ἔχων οὔτε σφαγῆς
 οὔτε ἀγχόνης οὔτε φαρμάκου οὔτ' ἄλλου τῶν ἐξ
 ἐπιβουλῆς θανάτων οὐδενός. ὥς δ' ἐγνώσθη τὸ
 πάθος καὶ προηνέχθη τὸ σῶμα εἰς τὴν ἀγοράν,
 δαιμόνιον τι κωλύσεως συγκύρημα ἔδοξεν εἶναι,
 3 καὶ αὐτίκα ἡ δίκη διελέλυτο τῶν γὰρ ἄλλων
 οὐδεὶς ἐτόλμα δημάρχων ἀνακαλεῖν τὴν στάσιν,
 ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ Γενυκίου κατεγίνωσκον πολλὴν
 μανίαν εἰ μὲν οὖν μηδὲν ἔτι πολυπραγμονοῦντες
 οἱ ὑπατοὶ διετέλεσαν ἀλλ' ἀφῆκαν ὥς ὁ δαίμων
 ἐκοίμησε τὴν στάσιν, οὐδεὶς ἂν αὐτοὺς ἔτι κατέλαβε
 κίνδυνος, νῦν δ' εἰς αὐθάδειαν καὶ καταφρόνησιν
 τοῦ δημοτικοῦ τραπόμενοι καὶ τὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς κράτος
 ὅσον ἐστὶν ἐπιδείξαι βουλόμενοι, κακὰ ἐξειργάσαντο
 μεγάλα προθέντες γὰρ στρατολογίαν καὶ τοὺς οὐχ

¹ ἤκειν Sylburg ἤγεν O.

² ἔμμενεν κατηγορήσειν Kiessling, ἐμμένειν . κατη-
γορεῖν O, Jacoby

them all to be present at the trial and had solemnly sworn over the victims that he would persist in his resolution and prosecute the men with all possible vigour, he appointed a day for holding the trial. The patricians, upon learning of this, felt great fear and concern, wondering what course they ought to take to secure the men's acquittal of the charge and also to put a stop to the boldness of the demagogue. And they resolved, in case the populace should pass any vote to the prejudice of the consular power, to prevent them from carrying it out, by opposing them with all their power and even resorting to arms if that should be necessary. But they had no need to use any violent means, as the danger was dispelled in a sudden and unexpected manner. For when only one day remained till the trial, Genucius was found dead on his bed without the least sign of stabbing, strangling, poisoning, or any of the other means of killing as the result of a plot. As soon as this unhappy occurrence was known and the body had been brought into the Forum, the event was looked upon as a kind of providential obstacle to the trial, which was straightway dismissed. For none of the other tribunes dared to revive the sedition, but they even looked upon Genucius as having been guilty of great madness. Now if the consuls had not committed any further act of officiousness, but had let the dissension, as Heaven had put it to sleep, remain so, no further danger would have beset them, but as it was, by turning to arrogance and contempt for the plebeians and by desiring to display the extent of their power, they brought about great mischiefs. For, having appointed a day for levying troops and endeavouring

³ τῇ δίκῃ Kiessling, πρὸ τῆς δίκης Reiske τῆς δίκης O

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ὑπακούοντας ταῖς τε ἄλλαις ζημίαις καὶ πληγαῖς
 ῥάβδων προσαναγκάζοντες εἰς ἀπόνοιαν ἐποίησαν
 τραπέσθαι τοῦ δημοτικοῦ τὸ πλεόν, ἀπὸ τοιαύτης
 μάλιστ' αἰτίας.

XXXIX. Ἄνῃρ τις ἐκ τῶν δημοτικῶν τὰ πολέ-
 μια λαμπρός, Βολέρων Πόπλιος, ἡγεμονίαν ἐσχη-
 κὼς λόχων ἐν ταῖς προτέραις στρατείαις, τότε ἄντὶ
 λοχαγοῦ στρατιώτης πρὸς αὐτῶν κατεγράφετο.
 ὥς δ' ἦναντιοῦτο καὶ οὐκ ἡξίου χώραν ἀτιμοτέραν
 λαβεῖν οὐδὲν ἡμαρτηκὼς ἐν ταῖς προτέραις στρα-
 τεύαις, δυσανασχετοῦντες οἱ ὕπατοι τὴν παρρησίαν
 αὐτοῦ τοῖς ῥαβδούχοις ἐκέλευσαν τὴν ἐσθῆτά τε
 περικαταρρῆξαι καὶ ταῖς ῥάβδοις τὸ σῶμα ξαίνειν.
 2 ὁ δὲ νεανίας τοὺς τε δημάρχους ἐπεκαλεῖτο, καί, εἴ
 τι ἀδικεῖ, κρίσιν ἐπὶ τῶν δημοτῶν ὑπέχειν ἡξίου.
 ὥς δ' οὐ προσεῖχον αὐτῷ τὸν νοῦν οἱ ὕπατοι, ἀλλὰ
 τοῖς ῥαβδούχοις ἄγειν καὶ τύπτειν ἐπεκελεύοντο,
 οὐκ ἀνασχετὸν ἡγησάμενος εἶναι τὴν ὕβριν αὐτὸς
 3 ἑαυτῷ ταμίας τῆς δίκης¹ γίνεται τὸν τε γὰρ πρῶ-
 τον προσελθόντα τῶν ῥαβδούχων παίων εἰς τὸ πρόσ-
 ωπον ἐναντίας πυγμαῖς νεανίας καὶ ἐρρωμένος ὢν²
 ἀνὴρ ἀνατρέπει καὶ τὸν ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἀγανακτησάν-
 των δὲ τῶν ὑπάτων καὶ πᾶσιν ἅμα τοῖς ὑπηρέταις
 προσελθεῖν κελευσάντων δεινὸν τι³ τοῖς παροῦσι
 τῶν δημοτικῶν ἐφάνη καὶ αὐτίκα συστραφέντες
 ἄθροοι καὶ ἀναβοήσαντες τὸ παρακλητικὸν τῆς
 ἀλλήλων ὀργῆς τὸν τε νεανίσκον ἐξήρπασαν καὶ
 τοὺς ῥαβδούχους ἀπέστησαν παίοντες καὶ τελευτῶν-
 τες ἐπὶ τοὺς ὑπάτους ὥρμησαν, καὶ εἰ μὴ κατα-
 λιπόντες ἐκεῖνοι τὴν ἀγορὰν ἔφυγον, ἀνήκεστον ἄν

¹ τῆς δίκης B · om R

² ὢν Capps om. O, Jacoby ³ τι B : om R

to coerce the disobedient by various punishments, including even scourging with rods, they drove the greater part of the plebeians to desperation. This was caused particularly by the incident I shall now relate

XXXIX A certain man of the plebeians, famous for his exploits in war, Volero Publius,¹ who had commanded centuries in the late campaigns, was now listed by the consuls as a common soldier instead of a centurion. Upon his objecting to this and refusing to take a lower rank when he had been guilty of no misconduct in the former campaigns, the consuls, offended at his frankness, ordered the lictors to strip him and lash his body with their rods. The young man called upon the tribunes for assistance, and asked, if he were guilty of any crime, to stand trial before the plebeians. When the consuls paid no heed to him but repeated their orders to the lictors to take him away and flog him, he regarded the insult as intolerable and took justice into his own hands. The first lictor who approached him he struck squarely in the face with his fists, and being a young man and vigorous, he knocked him down, and the next one likewise. When the consuls in their anger ordered all their attendants to approach him at the same time, the plebeians who were present thought it an outrageous thing. And immediately gathering together in a body and shouting the cry used to incite one another's resentment, they snatched the young man away and repulsed the lictors with blows, and at last made a rush against the consuls, and if those magistrates had not left the Forum and fled, the mob

¹ The correct form of the name is Volero Publilius (Livy II. 55, 4)

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4 τι κακὸν ἐξειργάσαντο ἐκ δὲ τούτου διεισθήκει
 πᾶσα ἡ πόλις, καὶ οἱ τέως ἡσυχάζοντες δῆμαρχοι
 τότε ἡγριοῦντο καὶ τῶν ὑπάτων κατηγοροῦν περι-
 ειστήκει τε ἡ περὶ τῆς κληρουχίας στάσις¹ εἰς
 ἑτέραν² μείζονα διὰ τὸν³ ὑπὲρ τοῦ κόσμου τῆς
 πολιτείας ἀγῶνα οἱ μὲν γε πατρίκιοι τοῖς ὑπάτοις
 ὥς καταλυομένης αὐτῶν τῆς ἐξουσίας συναγαν-
 ακτοῦντες τὸν χεῖρας⁴ ἐπιβαλεῖν τοῖς ὑπηρέταις
 5 τολμήσαντα κατὰ κρημνοῦ βαλεῖν ἡξίουں οἱ δὲ
 δημοτικοὶ συστρέψαντες αὐτοὺς κατεβόων τε καὶ
 παρεκελεύοντο μὴ προδιδόναι σφῶν τὴν ἐλευθερίαν,
 ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τὴν βουλὴν τὸ πρᾶγμα ἄγειν καὶ τῶν
 ὑπάτων κατηγορεῖν καὶ δίκης τινὸς παρ' αὐτῶν
 ἡξίουں τυχεῖν ὅτι τὸν ἐπικαλεσάμενον τὴν ἐκ τῶν
 δημάρχων βοήθειαν καὶ ἐν τῷ δήμῳ κρίσιν ὑπέχειν,
 εἴ τι πλημμελεῖ, βουλόμενον, οὐδετέρου τυχεῖν
 εἴασαν τῶν δικαίων, ἀλλ' ἐν ἀνδραπόδου μοίρᾳ τὸν
 ἐλεύθερον καὶ πολίτην ἔθεντο παίειν ἐπικελευό-
 6 μενοι ἀντιτεταγμένων δὴ τούτων καὶ οὐδετέρων
 εἶσαι βουλομένων τοῖς ἑτέροις, ἅπας ὁ λοιπὸς τῆς
 ὑπατείας ἐκείνης ἔδαπανήθη χρόνος οὔτε πολεμι-
 καῖς πράξεσι κοσμηθεὶς καλαῖς οὔτε πολιτικαῖς
 λόγου ἀξίαις

XL Ἐπιστάντων δὲ τῶν ἀρχαιρεσίων ὑπατοὶ
 μὲν ἀπεδείχθησαν Λεύκιος Πινάριος καὶ Πόπλιος
 Φούριος ἐν ἀρχῇ δὲ τοῦ ἔτους εὐθύς ὀττείαις τινὸς

¹ στάσις Cmg, Sylburg om R.

² Kiessling ἑτερον O, Jacoby

³ διὰ τὸν om Cobet, Jacoby

⁴ χεῖρας added here by Cobet, τὰς χεῖρας after ἐπιβαλεῖν
 by Reiske

would have done some irreparable mischief. As a result of this incident the whole city was divided, and those tribunes who till then had remained quiet grew wild with rage and inveighed against the consuls. Thus the dissension over the land-allotment had turned into another quarrel of greater consequence because of the contest concerning the form of government. On the one hand the patricians, believing that the power of the consuls was being destroyed, shared their indignation and demanded that the man who had dared to lay hands on their attendants should be hurled down from the precipice¹. On the other hand the plebeians, assembling together, raised a loud clamour and exhorted one another not to betray their liberty, but to carry the matter before the senate, to accuse the consuls and to endeavour to obtain some justice from them because they had refused to permit a man who had invoked the assistance of the tribunes and asked to be tried before the populace, in case he were guilty of any wrongdoing, to obtain either of these rights, but had treated him like a slave, though he was free born and a citizen, when they ordered him to be beaten. The two parties being thus arrayed against one another and neither being willing to yield to the other, all the remaining time of this consulship was consumed without being marked either by any glorious exploits in war or by any achievements at home worthy of mention.

XL The election of magistrates being at hand,² Lucius Pinarius and Publius Furius were chosen consuls. At the very beginning of this year the city

¹ The Tarpeian Rock

² For chaps. 40-42 cf. Livy II 56, 1-5.

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ἡ πόλις ἐπληρώθη καὶ φόβου δαιμονίου τεράτων τε καὶ σημείων πολλῶν γινομένων. καὶ οἱ τε μάντεις ἅπαντες καὶ οἱ τῶν ἱερῶν ἐξηγηταὶ χόλου δαιμόνων μηνύματα εἶναι τὰ γινόμενα ἀπέφαινον, ἱερῶν τινων
 2 οὐχ ὁσίως οὐδὲ καθαρῶς ἐπιτελουμένων καὶ μετ' οὐ πολὺ¹ νόσος ἐνέσκηψεν εἰς τὰς γυναῖκας ἡ² καλουμένη λοιμικὴ καὶ θάνατος ὅσος οὐπω πρότερον, μάλιστα δ'³ εἰς τὰς ἐγκύμονας. ὠμοτοκοῦσαί τε γὰρ καὶ νεκρὰ τίκτουςαι συναπέθνησκον τοῖς βρέφεσι, καὶ οὔτε λιτανεῖαι πρὸς ἔδεσι καὶ βωμοῖς γινόμεναι θεῶν οὔτε καθαρτήριοι θυσίαι περὶ τε πόλεως καὶ οἰκῶν ἰδίων ἐπιτελούμεναι
 3 παῦλαν αὐταῖς⁴ ἔφερον τῶν κακῶν. ἐν τοιαύτῃ δὲ συμφορᾷ τῆς πόλεως οὔσης τοῖς ἐξηγηταῖς τῶν ἱερῶν γίνεται μήνυσις ὑπὸ δούλου τινὸς ὅτι μία τῶν ἱεροποιῶν παρθένων τῶν φυλαττουσῶν τὸ ἀθάνατον πῦρ, Ὀρβινία, τὴν παρθενίαν ἀπολώλεκε καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ θύει τὰ τῆς πόλεως οὐκ οὔσα καθαρά· κακεῖνοι μεταστήσαντες αὐτὴν ἀπὸ τῶν ἱερῶν καὶ προθέντες δίκην, ἐπειδὴ καταφανὴς ἐγένετο ἔλεγχθῆῖσα, ῥάβδοις τε ἐμαστίγωσαν καὶ πομπεύσαντες
 4 διὰ τῆς πόλεως ζῶσαν κατάρυξαν· τῶν δὲ διαπραξαμένων τὴν ἀνοσίαν φθορὰν ὃ μὲν ἕτερος ἑαυτὸν διεχρήσατο, τὸν δ' ἕτερον οἱ τῶν ἱερῶν ἐπίσκοποι συλλαβόντες ἐν ἀγορᾷ μαστίξιν αἰκισάμενοι καθάπερ ἀνδράποδον ἀπέκτειναν. ἡ μὲν οὖν νόσος ἡ κατασκήψασα εἰς τὰς γυναῖκας καὶ ὁ πολὺς αὐτῶν φθόρος μετὰ τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον εὐθύς ἐπαύσατο.

XLI. 'Η δ' ἐκ πολλοῦ χρόνου διαμένουσα ἐν τῇ

¹ μετ' οὐ πολὺ Jacoby οὐ μετὰ πολὺ O.

² ἡ added by Reiske

³ δ' added by Reiske

⁴ αὐταῖς R αὐτοῖς B

BOOK IX. 40, 1—41, 1

was filled with a kind of religious awe and fear of the gods owing to the occurrence of many prodigies and omens. All the augurs and the pontiffs¹ declared that these occurrences were indications of divine anger, aroused because some rites were not being performed in a pure and holy manner. And not long afterwards the disease known as the pestilence attacked the women, particularly such as were with child, and more of them died than ever before: for as they miscarried and brought forth dead children, they died together with their infants. And neither supplications made at the statues and altars of the gods nor expiatory sacrifices performed on behalf of the state and of private households gave the women any respite from their ills. While the commonwealth was suffering from such a calamity, information was given to the pontiffs by a slave that one of the Vestal virgins who have the care of the perpetual fire, Urbincia by name, had lost her virginity and, though unchaste, was performing the public sacrifices. The pontiffs removed her from her sacred offices, brought her to trial, and after her guilt had been clearly established, they ordered her to be scourged with rods, to be carried through the city in solemn procession and then to be buried alive. One of the two men who had perpetrated the impious defilement killed himself, the other was seized by the pontiffs, who ordered him to be scourged in the Forum like a slave and then put to death. After this action the pestilence which had attacked the women and caused so great a mortality among them promptly ceased.

XLI. But the sedition raised by the plebeians

¹ Literally, "interpreters of religious matters (or rites)"
Cf. II. 73, 3

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πόλει στάσις, ἣν οἱ δημόται πρὸς τοὺς πατρικίους
 ἐστασίαζον, ἀνίστατο πάλιν ὁ δ' ἐξεγείρων αὐτὴν
 δήμαρχος ἦν Πόπλιος Βολέρων, ὁ τῷ πρόσθεν
 ἐνιαυτῷ τοῖς περὶ Αἰμίλιόν τε καὶ Ἰούλιον ὑπάτοις
 ἀπειθήσας, ὅτ' ¹ αὐτὸν ἀντὶ λοχαγοῦ στρατιώτην
 κατέγραφον, οὐ δι' ἄλλο τι μᾶλλον ἀποδειχθεὶς ὑπὸ
 τῶν πενήτων τοῦ δήμου ² προστάτης (γένος τε γὰρ
 ἐκ τῶν ἐπιτυχόντων ἦν καὶ τεθραμμένος ἐν πολλῇ
 ταπεινότητι καὶ ἀπορία), ἀλλ' ὅτι τὴν ἀρχὴν τῶν
 ὑπάτων βασιλικὸν ἔχουσιν ἀξίωμα τέως πρῶτος
 ἔδοξεν ἰδιώτης ἀνὴρ ἀπειθεία ταπεινώσαι, καὶ ἔτι
 μᾶλλον διὰ τὰς ὑποσχέσεις αἷς ἐποιεῖτο μετιῶν
 τὴν ἀρχὴν κατὰ τῶν πατρικίων, ὡς ἀφαιρησόμενος
² αὐτῶν τὴν ἰσχύν ὅς ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα ἐξεγένετο
 αὐτῷ λωφῆσαντος τοῦ δαιμονίου χόλου τὰ πολιτι-
 κά πράττειν, συναγαγὼν τὸν δῆμον εἰς ἐκκλησίαν
 νόμον εἰσφέρει περὶ τῶν δημαρχικῶν ἀρχαιρεσιῶν,
 μετὰ γων αὐτὰ ἐκ τῆς φρατριακῆς ψηφοφορίας, ἣν
 οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι κουριᾶτιν ³ καλοῦσιν, ⁴ ἐπὶ τὴν φυλετι-
 κήν. τίς δὲ τούτων διαφορά τῶν ἀρχαιρεσιῶν,
³ ἐγὼ σημανῶ τὰς μὲν φρατριακὰς ψηφοφορίας
 ἔδει προβουλευσαμένης τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ πλή-
 θους κατὰ φράτρας τὰς ψήφους ἐπενέγκαντος, καὶ

¹ ὅτε Sylburg : ὅτι O

² τῶν πενήτων τοῦ δήμου Sylburg . τοῦ τῶν πενήτων δήμου O

³ κουριᾶτιν (cf 46, 4) Cobet κυράτιν AB

⁴ κυράτιν καλοῦσιν A καλοῦσι κυράτιν B, καλοῦσιν κουρι-
 ἀτιν Jacoby

¹ Cf II 7, 2 f

² Dionysius has no special phrase for the *concilium plebis*, but uses the same terms as for the assemblies of the whole people. What he thus ambiguously relates here was probably a change from the *concilium plebis curiatim* to the *concilium plebis tributim*. By comparing together the two

BOOK IX 41, 1-3

against the patricians, which had long continued in the city, was starting up again. The person who stirred it up was Volero Publius, one of the tribunes, the same man who the year before had disobeyed the consuls Aemilius and Julius when they would have listed him as a common soldier instead of a centurion. He was chosen by the poor as leader of the populace, not so much for any other reason—for he was not only of common birth, but had been brought up in great obscurity and want—but because he was regarded as the first person in private life who by his disobedience had humbled the consular power, which till then had been invested with the royal dignity, and still more by reason of the promises he had made, when he stood candidate for the tribunate against the patricians, to deprive them of their power. This man, as soon as it was possible for him to attend to public business, now that the divine anger had abated, called an assembly of the populace and proposed a law concerning the tribunician elections, transferring them from the assembly of the clans,¹ called by the Romans the curiate assembly, to the tribal assembly.² What the difference was between these assemblies I will now point out. In order that the voting in the curiate assembly might be valid it was necessary that the senate should pass a preliminary decree and that the plebeians should vote on it by *curiae*, and that

passages (vi 87, 3 and 89, 1) in which the establishment of the tribunate is described, we see that the first tribunes were elected by a *concilium plebis*, meeting by *curiae*. It is to be noted that in the second of these passages, as in so many other places, Dionysius uses the word *δῆμος*, which can mean either the plebs alone or the whole people, his distinctive term for plebeians is *δημοτικοί*, for plebs *δημοτικόν* or *πλήθος* (sometimes both together)

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μετ' ἀμφοτέρα ταῦτα τῶν παρὰ τοῦ δαιμονίου σημείων τε καὶ οἰωνῶν μηδὲν ἐναντιωθέντων, τότε κυρίας εἶναι· τὰς δὲ φυλετικὰς μήτε προβουλεύματος γενομένου μήτε τῶν ἱερέων¹ τε καὶ οἰωνοσκόπων ἐπιθεσπισάντων, ἐν ἡμέρα μιᾷ τελεσθείσας ὑπὸ τῶν φυλετῶν τέλος ἔχειν καὶ ἦσαν ἐκ τῶν λοιπῶν τεττάρων δημάρχων οἱ συνεισφέροντες αὐτῷ δύο δήμαρχοι τὸν νόμον οὓς προσεταιρισάμενος ἐλαττόνων ὄντων τῶν μὴ ταῦτα² βουλομένων

⁴ περιῆν. οἱ δ' ὕπατοι καὶ ἡ βουλὴ καὶ πάντες οἱ πατρίκιοι κωλύειν ἐπεχείρουν τὸν νόμον ἀφικόμενοί τε κατὰ πληθὸς εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐν ᾗ προεῖπον οἱ δήμαρχοι κυρώσειν τὸν νόμον ἡμέρα, παντοδαπούς διῆλθον λόγους, τῶν θ' ὑπάτων καὶ τῶν πρεσβυτάτων ἐκ τῆς βουλῆς καὶ ἄλλου παντὸς ὅτῳ βουλομένῳ ἦν τὰς ἐνούσας ἐν τῷ νόμῳ διεξιόντος ἀτοπίας. ἀντιλεξάντων δὲ τῶν δημάρχων καὶ αὖθις τῶν ὑπάτων, καὶ μέχρι πολλοῦ τῆς ἀψιμαχίας τῶν λόγων ἐκμηκυνθείσης, ἐκείνην μὲν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν διέλυσεν εἰς νύκτα συγκλεισθεῖς ὁ χρόνος. προθέντων δὲ πάλιν τῶν δημάρχων εἰς τρίτην ἀγορὰν τὴν περὶ τοῦ νόμου διάγνωσιν καὶ συνελθόντος ἔτι πλείονος εἰς αὐτὴν ὄχλου τὸ παρα-

⁵ πλήσιον τῷ προτέρῳ συνέβη γενέσθαι πάθος. τοῦτο συνιδὼν ὁ Πόπλιος ἔγνω μήτε τοῖς ὑπάτοις ἐπιτρέπειν ἔτι τοῦ νόμου κατηγορεῖν μήτε πατρικίους εἶαν τῇ ψηφοφορίᾳ παρεῖναι καθ' ἑταιρείας γὰρ ἐκείνοι καὶ κατὰ συστροφὰς ἅμα τοῖς ἑαυτῶν πελάταις οὐκ ὀλίγοις οὔσι πολλὰ μέρη τῆς ἀγορᾶς κατεῖχον, ἐπικελεύοντές τε τοῖς κατηγοροῦσι τοῦ νόμου καὶ θορυβοῦντες τοὺς ἀπολογουμένους καὶ •

¹ Reiske ἱερῶν Ο

² Sylburg ταῦτα AB

BOOK IX. 41, 3-5

after both these votes the heavenly signs and omens should offer no opposition ; whereas, in the case of the voting of the tribal assembly, neither the preliminary decree of the senate was necessary nor the sanction of the priests and augurs, but it was only necessary that it should be carried through and completed by the members of the tribes in a single day. Now of the other four tribunes there were two who joined with Volero in proposing this law ; and by enlisting the co-operation of these two he carried the day, as those who were not of the same mind were in the minority. But the consuls, the senate, and all the patricians sought to prevent the law from passing ; and coming to the Forum in great numbers on the day appointed by the tribunes for ratifying the law, they delivered all kinds of speeches, the consuls, the oldest senators and everyone else who so desired enumerating the absurdities inherent in the law. When the tribunes had argued on the other side and the consuls had spoken a second time and the verbal skirmishing had lasted a long while, that assembly at least was dispersed by the closing in of night-time. The tribunes having again appointed the third market-day for the consideration of the law and an even greater throng flocking to the Forum on that day, the same thing happened as before. Publius, perceiving this, resolved neither to permit the consuls to inveigh against the law again nor to allow patricians to be present at the voting. For the patricians in their partisan bands and in groups together with their clients, who were numerous, occupied many parts of the Forum, shouting encouragement to those who inveighed against the law and noisily interrupting those who defended it, and doing many other things

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ἄλλα πολλὰ πράττοντες ἀκοσμίας τε καὶ βίας τῆς ἐν ταῖς ψήφοις ἐσομένης¹ μηνύματα

XLII. Ἐπέσχε δ' αὐτοῦ τὰ βουλευματα ὄντα τυραννικὰ ἑτέρα συμπεσοῦσα θεήλατος συμφορά. νόσος γὰρ ἦψατο λοιμικὴ τῆς πόλεως, γενομένη μὲν καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἄλλην Ἰταλίαν, μάλιστα δὲ πλεονάσασα κατὰ τὴν Ῥώμην καὶ οὔτε ἀνθρωπίνη βοήθεια ἤρκει τοῖς κάμνουσιν οὐδεμία, ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ ἴσῳ οἳ τε σὺν πολλῇ θεραπευόμενοι φροντίδι καὶ οἷς μηδὲν ἐγίνετο τῶν δεόντων ἀπέθνησκον οὔτε λιτανεῖαι θεῶν καὶ θυσίαι καὶ ἐφ' οὓς ἀνθρωποὶ τελευταίους² ἐν ταῖς τοιαῖσδε ἀναγκάζονται καταφεύγειν συμφοραῖς, οἱ κατ' ἄνδρα τε γινόμενοι καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ κοινοῦ καθαρμοί, τότε προσωφέλουν, διέκρινέ τε τὸ πάθος οὐχ ἡλικίαν, οὐ φύσιν, οὐ ῥώμην ἢ ἀσθένειαν σωματῶν, οὐ τέχνην, οὐκ ἄλλο τι τῶν δοκούντων κουφίζειν τὴν νόσον,³ ἀλλὰ γυναιξί τε ἐνέπιπτε καὶ ἀνδράσι καὶ γηραιοῖς καὶ 2 νέοις οὐ μὴν πολὺν⁴ κατέσχε χρόνον, ὅπερ αἴτιον ἐγένετο τοῦ μὴ σύμπασαν διαφθαρῆναι τὴν πόλιν ἀλλὰ ποταμοῦ δίκην ἢ πυρὸς ἀθρόα τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἐμπεσοῦσα τὴν τε προσβολὴν ὀξείαν καὶ τὴν ἀπαλλαγὴν ταχεῖαν ἔλαβεν ὥς δὲ τὸ δεινὸν

¹ ἐσομένης Gelenius ἐχομένης R, Jacoby, om B, ἀρχομένης Sintenis, ἐρχομένης (or ἐπερχομένης) Post

² ἐφ' οὓς ἀνθρωποὶ τελευταίους B · ἐφ' οἷς ἀνθρωποὶ τελευταῖον AC

³ Reiske transposed the words οὐκ ἄλλο τι τῶν δοκούντων κουφίζειν τὴν νόσον to follow προσωφέλουν Kiessling, accepting this transposition, proposed οὔτε ἄλλο τι, and, in place of οὐ τέχνην, either (a) οὔτε τέχνη, to stand between προσωφέλουν and οὔτε ἄλλο τι, or (b) οὐ τύχην (cf vii 12, 4), to follow σωματῶν

⁴ οὐ μὴν πολὺν A · οὐ πολὺν δὲ B

that were indications of the disorder and violence that there would be in the voting

XLII These designs of Publius, pointing toward a tyranny, were checked by a fresh calamity sent from Heaven. For the city was visited with a pestilence, which occurred, indeed, in the rest of Italy also, but was especially prevalent in Rome. No human assistance could relieve the sick, but alike whether they were attended with great care or received none of the necessary attentions, they died all the same. No supplications to the gods nor sacrifices nor the final refuge to which men under such calamities are compelled to have recourse—private and public expiations—contributed any help at that time, and the disease made no distinction of age or sex, of strong or weak constitutions, of skill, or of any other of the agencies supposed to lighten the malady,¹ but attacked both men and women, old and young. However, it did not last long—a circumstance which saved the city from utter destruction, but, like a river in flood or a conflagration, falling upon the people with full force, it made a sharp attack and a speedy departure. As soon as the calamity abated, Publius,

¹ The phrases "of skill" and "of any other of the agencies supposed to lighten the malady" seem to be out of their proper place. According to Kiessling's transposition we should have, following "contributed any help at that time," either (1), retaining *τέχνη*, "nor did skill, nor any of the other agencies supposed to lighten the malady", or (2), substituting *τύχη* for *τέχνη* and retaining in its present position, "nor did any of the other agencies supposed to lighten the malady, and the disease made no distinction of age or sex, of strong or weak constitutions, or of one's circumstances (one's station in life), but attacked both men and women," etc

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ἐλώφησεν, ἐπ' ἐξόδῳ τῆς ἀρχῆς ὧν ὁ Πόπλιος, ἐπειδὴ οὐκ ἐδύνατο κυρῶσαι τὸν νόμον ἐν τῷ περιόντι χρόνῳ τῶν ἀρχαιρεσίων ἐπιστάντων, μετήει πάλιν τὴν δημαρχίαν εἰς τὸν ἐπιόντα ἐνιαυτόν, πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα τοῖς δημόταις ὑπισχνούμενος· καὶ ἀποδείκνυται πάλιν δήμαρχος ὑπ' αὐτῶν καὶ δύο
 3 τῶν συναρχόντων οἱ δὲ πατρίκιοι πρὸς τοῦτο ἀντεμηχανήσαντο πικρὸν ἄνδρα καὶμισόδημον καὶ μηδὲν ἐλαττώσοντα τῆς ἀριστοκρατίας ἐπὶ τὴν ὑπατείαν προαγαγεῖν, Ἄππιον Κλαύδιον, υἱὸν Ἄππιου τοῦ πλείστα τῷ δήμῳ περὶ τὴν κάθοδον ἐναντιωθέντος. καὶ αὐτὸν πολλὰ ἀντειπόντα καὶ οὐδ' εἰς τὸ πεδίον ἐλθεῖν βουλευθέντα ἕνεκα τῶν ἀρχαιρεσίων, οὐδὲν ἡττον προὔβούλευσάν τε καὶ ἐψηφίσαντο ἀπόντα ὕπατον

XLIII Τελεσθέντων δὲ τῶν ἀρχαιρεσίων κατὰ πολλὴν εὐπέτειαν, οἱ γὰρ πένητες ἐξέλιπον τὸ πεδίον ἐπειδὴ τὸν ἄνδρα τόνδε ὀνομασθέντα ἤκουσαν, παραλαμβάνουσι τὴν ὑπατείαν Τίτος Κοίντιος Καπιτωλῖνος καὶ Ἄππιος Κλαύδιος Σαβῖνος, οὔτε τὰς φύσεις οὔτε τὰς προαιρέσεις ἔχοντες ὁμοίας
 2 Ἄππιου μὲν γὰρ ἦν γνώμη περισπᾶν περὶ τὰς ἑξω στρατείας τὸν ἀργὸν καὶ πένητα δῆμον, ἵνα τῶν τε καθ' ἡμέραν ἀναγκαίων ἐκ τῆς πολεμίας εὐπορῶν τοῖς αὐτοῦ πόνοις ὧν ἐν χρεῖα μάλιστα ὑπῆρχε καὶ τὰ συμφέροντα τῇ πόλει διαπραττόμενος,

¹ See vi 59 ff The reference is to the return from the Sacred Mount

whose magistracy was near expiring, since he could not get the law confirmed during the remainder of his term, as the election of magistrates was at hand, stood again for the tribuneship for the following year, making many big promises to the plebeians, and he was again chosen tribune by them, together with two of his colleagues. The patricians, to meet this situation, contrived to advance to the consulship a man of stern disposition and an enemy of the populace, one who would not diminish in any respect the power of the aristocracy, namely, Appius Claudius, the son of that Appius who had most strongly opposed the populace in the matter of their return¹. And though he protested much and even refused to go to the field² for the election, they nevertheless passed the preliminary vote and appointed him consul³ in his absence.

XLIII After the election⁴ had been carried through quite easily⁵—for the poorer people left the field² as soon as they heard Appius named⁶—Titus Quintius Capitolinus and Appius Claudius Sabinus succeeded to the consulship, men alike neither in their dispositions nor in their principles. For it was the opinion of Appius that the idle and needy populace should be kept employed in military expeditions abroad, in order that, while supplying themselves from the enemy's country by their own toils with an abundance of the daily necessities of which they were in the greatest need and at the same time accomplishing results advantageous to the common-

² The Campus Martius

³ *i.e.* they named him as their candidate for the consulship

⁴ For chaps. 43-49 *cf.* Livy II 56, 5-58, 2.

⁵ Dionysius is speaking from the patricians' point of view

⁶ *i.e.* heard his candidacy announced.

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ἦκιστα τοῖς ἐκ τοῦ συνεδρίου διοικοῦσι¹ τὰ κοινὰ
 δυσμενῆς τε καὶ χαλεπὸς ἦ· πολέμου δὲ πᾶσαν
 ἔσσεσθαι πρόφασιν εὖλογον ἀπέφαιναν ἡγεμονίας
 ἀντιποιουμένη πόλει καὶ ὑπὸ πάντων ἐπιφθονου-
 μένῃ, κατὰ τε τὸ εἰκὸς τοῖς γεγονόσιν ἤδη τὰ
 μέλλοντα εἰκάζειν ἡξίου, ἐπιλεγόμενος, ὅσαι ἤδη
 κινήσεις ἐγένοντο ἐν τῇ πόλει, ὅτι πᾶσαι κατὰ
 3 τὰς ἀναπαύλας ἐγένοντο τῶν πολέμων Κοιντίῳ
 δ' οὐκ ἔδόκει πόλεμον ἐκφέρειν οὐδένα, ἀγαπητὸν
 ἀποφαίνοντι εἰ πρὸς τοὺς ἀναγκαίους τε καὶ ἔξωθεν
 ἐπαγομένους κινδύνους καλούμενος ὁ δῆμος εὐπει-
 θῆς γένοιτο, καὶ διδάσκοντι ὥς εἰ βίαν προσάξουσιν
 τοῖς μὴ πειθομένοις εἰς ἀπόνοιαν ἀναγκάσουσιν
 ἐλθεῖν τὸ δημοτικόν, ὥσπερ καὶ οἱ πρὸ αὐτῶν
 ἐποίησαν ὑπατοὶ ἐξ ὧν κινδυνεύσειν αὐτοὺς δυεῖν
 θάτερον, ἢ δι' αἵματος καὶ φόνων καταπαῦσαι τὴν
 στάσιν ἢ θεραπεύειν αἰσchrῶς ὑπομεῖναι τὸ δημοτι-
 4 κόν ἦν δ' ἡ τοῦ μηνὸς ἐκείνου ἡγεμονία τῷ
 Κοιντίῳ προσήκουσα, ὥστε ἀναγκαῖον ἦν τὸν ἕτε-
 ρον τῶν ὑπάτων μηδὲν ἄκοντος ἐκείνου ποιεῖν οἱ
 δὲ περὶ τὸν Πόπλιον δῆμαρχοι οὐθὲν ἔτι διαμελ-
 λήσαντες τὸν ἐν τῷ πρόσθεν ἐνιαυτῷ οὐ δυνηθέντα
 νόμον ἐπικυρωθῆναι² πάλιν εἰσέφερον, προσγρά-
 ψαντες αὐτῷ καὶ τὸ τῶν ἀγορανόμων ἀρχεῖον ἐν
 ταῖς αὐταῖς ψηφοφορεῖσθαι ἐκκλησίαις, καὶ πάντα
 τᾶλλα ὅσα ἐν τῷ δήμῳ πράττεσθαι τε καὶ ἐπι-
 κυροῦσθαι δεήσει ὑπὸ τῶν φυλετῶν ἐπιψηφίζεσθαι

¹ Sylburg συνδιοικοῦσι A, συνιοκοῦσι BC.

² νόμον ἐπικυρωθῆναι B ἐπικυρωθῆναι νόμον R

BOOK IX 43, 2-4

wealth, they might be least likely to be hostile and troublesome to the senators who were administering public affairs. He declared that any excuse for making war would be justifiable for a state that laid claim to supremacy and was envied by all, and he asked them, applying the principle of probability, to judge what was to happen in the future by what had already taken place in the past, adding that all the commotions which had occurred in the commonwealth in the past had happened during the respites from war. Quintius, on the other hand, thought they ought not to wage any war. He declared they ought to be satisfied if the populace, when called upon to face the inevitable dangers brought upon them from outside, yielded ready obedience; and he showed that if they attempted to use force with the disobedient they would drive the plebeians to desperation, as the consuls before them had done. As a result, they would run the risk either of putting down the sedition with bloodshed and slaughter or of submitting to a shameful courting of the plebeians. In that month the command belonged to Quintius, so that the other consul was bound to do nothing without his consent. In the meantime Publius and the other two tribunes without further delay were again proposing the law which they had been unable to get ratified the year before, with this additional provision that the college of aediles¹ should also be chosen in the same assemblies,² and that everything else that was to be done and ratified by the populace should be voted on in like manner by the members of the

¹ For the relation of the (plebeian) aediles to the tribunes see vi 90, 2 f. Curule aediles were not appointed until a century later.

² See chap. 41, 2 ff.

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κατὰ τὸ αὐτό· ὅπερ ἦν ἄρα τῆς μὲν βουλῆς κατά-
λυσις φανερά, τοῦ δὲ δήμου δυναστεία

XLIV Τοῦτο μαθοῦσι τοῖς ὑπάτοις φροντὶς εἰσ-
ῆει καὶ λογισμὸς¹ ὅπως ἂν ἐν τάχει καὶ σὺν τῷ
ἀσφαλεῖ τὸ παρακινοῦν καὶ στασιάζον ἐξαιρεθῇ
ὁ μὲν οὖν Ἀππιος ἐπὶ τὰ ὅπλα καλεῖν γνώμην
ἐδίδου τοὺς βουλομένους² σώζεσθαι τὴν πάτριον
πολιτείαν εἰ δέ τινες ἐναντιωθήσονται³ σφίσι,⁴ τού-
2 τους ἐν πολεμίῳ ποιεῖσθαι μοῖρα. ὁ δὲ Κοῖντιος
λόγῳ πείθειν ᾤετο δεῖν τοὺς δημοτικούς καὶ μετα-
διδάσκειν ὥς δι' ἄγνοιαν τοῦ συμφέροντος εἰς
ὀλέθρια βουλευμάτων φερομένους ἐσχάτης μανίας
ἔργον εἶναι λέγων, ἃ παρ' ἐκόντων ἔξεστι φέρε-
σθαι τῶν συμπολιτευομένων, ταῦτα παρ' ἀκόντων
3 βούλεσθαι λαμβάνειν ἐπαινεσάντων δὲ καὶ τῶν
ἄλλων τῶν συμπαραληφθέντων εἰς τὸ συνέδριον
τὴν Κοιντίου γνώμην παρελθόντες εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν
οἱ ὑπατοὶ λόγον ἤτουντο παρὰ τῶν δημάρχων καὶ
χρόνον. μόλις δ' ἀμφοῖν τυχόντες, ἐπειδὴ καθῆκεν
ἦν ἡτήσαντο παρ' αὐτῶν ἡμέραν, ὄχλου παντοδα-
ποῦ συνεληλυθότος εἰς τὴν ἀγοράν, ὃν ἀμφοτέραι
παρεσκευάσαντο σύμμαχον ἑαυταῖς ἐκ παρακλή-
σεως αἱ ἀρχαί, παρήσαν ὥς κατηγορήσοντες τοῦ
4 νόμου ὁ μὲν οὖν Κοῖντιος, τά τε ἄλλα ἐπιεικῆς
ὦν ἀνὴρ καὶ δῆμον οἰκειώσασθαι λόγῳ πιθανώ-
τατος, πρῶτος αἰτησάμενος λόγον,⁵ ἐπιδέξιόν τινα
καὶ κεχαρισμένην ἅπασι διεξῆλθε δημηγορίαν, ὥστε
τοὺς ὑπὲρ τοῦ νόμου λέγοντας εἰς πολλὴν ἐλθεῖν

¹ Kiessling λόγος O

² τοὺς βουλομένους A τοῖς βουλομένοις R

³ ἐναντιωθήσονται R ἐναντία θήσονται Ba, Jacoby

tribes This, now, clearly meant the overthrow of the senate and the dominance of the populace

XLIV. When the consuls were informed of this, they grew anxious and considered by what means the commotion and sedition might speedily and safely be removed Appius advised summoning to arms all who wished the constitution of their fathers to be preserved, and if any opposed them, to look upon them as enemies But Quintius thought they ought to use persuasion with the plebeians and convince them that through ignorance of their own interest they were being led into pernicious counsels He said that it was the extreme of folly to wish to obtain from their fellow citizens against their will the things which they might receive by their consent The advice of Quintius being approved of by the other members of the senate, the consuls went to the Forum and asked the tribunes to give them a hearing and to appoint a time for it And having obtained both requests with difficulty, when the day they had asked of them had come, the Forum being filled with a great concourse of people of all sorts, which the magistrates on both sides had got together under instructions to support them, the consuls presented themselves with the intention of speaking against the law Quintius, accordingly, who was a fair-minded man in all respects and most capable of winning over the populace by his eloquence, first desired leave to speak, and then made an adroit speech that was acceptable to everybody, with the result that those who spoke in favour of the law were

⁴ σφίσι Kiessling σφίσι τὰ ὅπλα Ba, Jacoby, σφίσι πρὸς τὰ ὅπλα R.

⁵ τὸν before λόγον deleted by Cobet

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ἀμνηχανίαν, οὔτε δικαιότερα λέγειν ἔχοντας οὔτε
 5 ἐπιεικέστερα καὶ εἰ μηδὲν ἔτι πολυπραγμονεῖν ὁ
 συνύπατος αὐτοῦ προείλετο, συγγνούς ἂν ὁ δῆμος
 ὡς οὔτε δίκαια οὔθ' ὅσια ἀξιῶν ἔλυσε τὸν νόμον·
 νῦν δ' ἐκείνου λόγον διελθόντος ὑπερήφανον καὶ
 βαρὺν ἀκουσθῆναι πένησι χαλεπὸς εἰς ὀργὴν ἐγέ-
 6 νετο καὶ ἀμείλικτος καὶ εἰς ἔριν ἦλθεν ὅσῃ οὔπω
 πρότερον οὐ γὰρ ὡς ἐλευθέρους τε καὶ πολίταις
 ὁ ἀνὴρ διαλεγόμενος, οἱ τοῦ θεῖναι τὸν νόμον ἢ
 λῦσαι κύριοι ἦσαν, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐν ἀτίμοις ἢ ξένοις
 ἢ μὴ βεβαίως ἔχουσι τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἐξουσιάζων,
 πικρὰς καὶ ἀνυπομονήτους ἐποιήσατο κατηγορίας,
 τῶν τε χρεῶν τὰς ἀποκοπὰς αὐτοῖς ὀνειδίζων καὶ
 τῶν ὑπάτων τὴν ἀπόστασιν προφέρων, ὅτε τὰ ἱερὰ
 σημεῖα ἀρπάσαντες ὥχοντο ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου
 φυγὴν ἐπιβάλλοντες ἑαυτοῖς ἐκούσιον τοὺς θ' ὄρ-
 7 κους ἀνακαλούμενος οὓς ὥμοσαν τὰ ὅπλα περὶ τῆς
 γειναμένης¹ αὐτοὺς² γῆς ἀναλαμβάνοντες, οἷς κατ'
 αὐτῆς ἐκείνης ἐχρήσαντο τοιγάρτοι θαυμαστὸν
 οὐδὲν ἔφησεν αὐτοὺς ποιεῖν, εἰ θεοὺς μὲν ἐπιорκή-
 σαντες, ἡγεμόνας δὲ καταλιπόντες, πόλιν δ' ἔρημον
 τὸ καθ' ἑαυτοὺς εἶναι³ μέρος ἀφέντες, ἐπὶ δὲ
 πίστειως συγχύσει καὶ νόμων ἀνατροπῇ καὶ πολι-
 τεύματος πατρίου φθορᾷ ποιησάμενοι τὴν κάθοδον,
 οὐ μετριάξουσιν οὐδὲ χρηστοὺς δύνανται πολίτας
 ἑαυτοὺς παρασχεῖν, ἀλλ' αἰεὶ τινος ὀρέγονται πλεον-
 εξίας καὶ παρανομίας, τοτὲ μὲν ἀρχὰς ἐξεῖναι σφί-
 σιν ἀξιοῦντες αὐτοὺς ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν ἀποδεικνύναι καὶ

¹ περὶ τῆς γειναμένης Steph . περὶ τῆς γινομένης A, περι-
 γινομένης B

² αὐτοὺς Steph αὐτοῖς AB.

³ εἶναι placed here by Cobet after ἔρημον O

reduced to great embarrassment, finding nothing to say that was more just or more reasonable. And if his colleague had not chosen to continue his officiousness, the populace, being fully aware that their demands were neither just nor right, would have rejected the law. But as it was, he delivered a speech that was haughty and offensive to the ears of the poor, so that they became exasperated and implacable and fell into greater strife than ever before. For he did not talk to them as if they were free men and his fellow citizens who had power to confirm or reject the law, but domineering over them as if they were outcasts or foreigners or men whose liberty was precarious, he uttered bitter and intolerable reproaches, upbraiding them with the abolition of their debts and with their desertion of the consuls when they snatched up the standards and quit the camp, imposing voluntary banishment upon themselves¹; and he appealed to the oaths they had sworn when they took up arms in defence of the country which had given them birth, only to turn them against that very country. Therefore their conduct was not at all strange, he said, if, after being guilty of perjury to the gods, deserting their generals, leaving the city undefended as far as in them lay, and returning home in order to violate the public faith, subvert the laws and overthrow the constitution of their fathers, they showed no moderation and could not behave themselves like good citizens, but were always aiming at some selfish encroachment and violation of the laws. At one time they were demanding the right to choose for themselves their own magis-

¹ At the time of the secession to the Sacred Mount, see vi. 45.

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ταύτας ἀνυπευθύνους ποιοῦντες καὶ παναγείς τοτὲ δ' εἰς ἀγῶνας ὑπὲρ τῶν¹ ἐσχάτων² κινδύνων³ καθιστάντες οὓς αὐτοῖς δόξειε τῶν πατρικίων, καὶ τὰ νόμιμα δικαστήρια, οἷς περὶ θανάτου καὶ φυγῆς ἢ πόλις πρότερον ἔδωκε κρίνειν,⁴ μεταφέροντες ἐκ τῆς καθαρωτάτης βουλῆς⁵ ἐπὶ τὸν ῥυπαρώτατον ὄχλον· τοτὲ δὲ νόμους εἰσφέροντες οἱ θῆτες καὶ ἀνέστιοι κατὰ τῶν εὐπατριδῶν τυραννικοὺς καὶ ἀνίσους, καὶ οὐδὲ τοῦ προβουλευσαι περὶ αὐτῶν ἐξουσίαν τῇ βουλῇ καταλείποντες,⁶ ἀλλ' ἀφαιρούμενοι καὶ ταύτην αὐτῆς τὴν τιμήν, ἣν ἐκ τοῦ παντός εἶχεν ἀναμφίλεκτον χρόνου βασιλευομένης τε καὶ 8 τυραννουμένης τῆς πόλεως πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἄλλα

¹ τῶν om B

² Gelenus αἰσχίστων O

³ κινδύνων B om R

⁴ ἔδωκε κρίνειν (cf chap 46, 4) ACmg ἐχρήτο B

⁵ βουλῆς Capps, Post φυλῆς O, Jacoby

⁶ Reiske · καταλιπόντες O

¹ This passage has not been properly understood hitherto. Instead of "senate" the MSS read "tribe", a manifest corruption, and the editors and translators seem to have thought of the centuriate assembly, whatever may have been the actual word used by Dionysius. The true reading becomes evident when we compare this account of the successive gains made by the plebeians, and the parallel account just below, in chap 46, 4, with the report of the trial of Coriolanus as given in Book VII. For just as the first concessions to the plebeians enumerated here and in chap 46 obviously belong to the time of the secession of the plebs to the Sacred Mount, so those named later correspond perfectly with the account of the trial of Coriolanus. Concerning that trial we were informed that the tribunes, after first insisting upon trying the accused before the people without the previous sanction of the senate (vii 25, 3, 26, 38), finally agreed that the senate should pass a preliminary

BOOK IX 44, 7-8

tiates and making these unaccountable for their actions and sacrosanct ; again, they were putting on trial for their lives such of the patricians as they saw fit, and transferring the legitimate courts, to which the commonwealth had formerly entrusted the trial of causes involving death or banishment, from the most incorruptible senate¹ to the vilest mob : and yet again, the labourers for hire and the homeless were introducing tyrannical and unfair laws against the men of noble birth, without leaving to the senate the power even of passing the preliminary decree concerning those laws, but depriving that body of this honour also, which it had always enjoyed undisputed under both kings and tyrants. After he had

decree (to be ratified afterwards by the people), permitting Coriolanus to be tried by the people (vii 39, 58), and a subsequent concession permitted the summoning, for that purpose, of the tribal instead of the centuriate assembly (vii 59, 60, 1). It is the combined effect of these two "laws" (ix 46, 1), then, that is mentioned with such scorn in the present passage. At the outset of their controversy with the plebeians over Coriolanus the senators had maintained that the senate was the normal tribunal for the trial of patricians (vii 52, 6 and 8), and they declared that no patrician had as yet been tried by the popular court, which had been instituted for the benefit of plebeians oppressed by the patricians (vii 52, 1 f., 41, 1 f.). There is no real contradiction between this claim of the senators and the declaration of Coriolanus (viii 6, 2) that the normal court for these trials was the centuriate assembly, his statement really applies simply to trials of plebeians, as only plebeians had been tried by the popular court. A further argument for understanding the senate as the tribunal from whose jurisdiction these trials had been taken away is to be seen in the highly complimentary adjective applied to that tribunal, an adjective which neither Dionysius nor the senators would ever have thought of applying even to the centuriate assembly, however it might be composed.

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τούτοις ὅμοια προσθεῖς καὶ οὐδενὸς οὔτε πικροῦ πράγματος οὔτε βλασφήμου ὀνόματος φεισάμενος, τελευτῶν ἐκείνον ἔτι προσέθηκεν τὸν λόγον, ἐφ' ᾧ μάλιστα ἡ πληθὺς ἡγανάκτησεν, ὅτι χρόνον οὐδένα παύσεται στασιάζουσα περὶ παντὸς χρήματος ἡ πόλις, ἀλλ' αἰεὶ τινα καινὴν ἐπὶ παλαιᾷ νοσήσει νόσον ἕως ἂν ἡ τῶν δημάρχων ἐξουσία διαμένῃ· διδάσκων ὅτι πράγματος παντὸς πολιτικοῦ καὶ κοινοῦ τὰς ἀρχὰς προσήκει σκοπεῖν, ὅπως εὐσεβεῖς ἔσονται καὶ δίκαιοι· φιλεῖν γὰρ ἐκ μὲν τῶν ἀγαθῶν σπερμάτων χρηστοὺς γίγνεσθαι καὶ εὐτυχεῖς τοὺς καρπούς, ἐκ δὲ τῶν πονηρῶν κακοὺς καὶ ὀλεθρίους.

XLV “Εἰ μὲν οὖν,” ἔφη, “ἦδε ἡ ἀρχὴ μεθ' ὁμονοίας εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἐπὶ τῷ πάντων ἀγαθῷ, παροῦσα σὺν οἰωνοῖς τε καὶ ὀττείαις, πολλῶν ἂν ἡμῖν ἐγίνετο καὶ μεγάλων ἀγαθῶν αἰτία, χαρίτων, ὁμοφροσύνης, εὐνομίας, ἐλπίδων χρηστῶν παρὰ τοῦ δαιμονίου, μυρίων ἄλλων νῦν δέ, βία γὰρ¹ αὐτὴν εἰσῆγαγε καὶ παρανομία καὶ στάσις καὶ πολέμου δέος ἐμφυλίου καὶ πάντα τὰ ἔχθιστα ἐν ἀνθρώποις, τί οὖν ἔτι καὶ μέλλει χρηστὸν ἔσεσθαι ποτε² ἢ σωτήριον τοιαύτας λαβούσης τὰς ἀρχάς, ὥστε περιττόν ἐστιν³ ἡμῖν ἴασιν καὶ ἀλεξήματα τῶν ἀναβλαστανόντων ἐξ αὐτῆς κακῶν ζητεῖν, ὅποσα εἰς ἀνθρώπινον πίπτει λογισμὸν, μενούσης ἔτι τῆς
2 πονηρᾶς ρίζης οὐ γὰρ ἔσται πέρας οὐδ' ἀπαλλαγὴ τῶν δαιμονίων χόλων ἕως ἂν ἦδε ἡ βάσκανος ἐρινὺς καὶ φαγέδαινα ἐγκαθημένη πάντα σήπη καὶ διαφθείρῃ τὰ καλά· ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ μὲν τούτων ἕτερος ἔσται λόγος καὶ καιρὸς ἐπιτηδειότερος, νῦν δ' ἐπεὶ τὰ

¹ βία γὰρ Ba ἐπεὶ βία R ² ποτε B om R

³ περιττόν ἐστιν Sintenis : περίεστιν O, Jacoby

uttered many other reproaches of like nature and withheld neither any bitter fact nor any opprobrious word, he concluded with this declaration—which gave greater offence to the multitude than all the rest—that the commonwealth would never cease being divided into factions over every matter, but would always suffer from some fresh distemper following the old as long as the tribunician power should last. He pointed out that it is important to examine the beginnings of every political and public institution, to see that they shall be righteous and just, for from good seeds are wont to come good and wholesome fruit, and from bad seeds evil and deadly fruit.

XLV “If, now,” he said, “this magistracy had been introduced into the commonwealth harmoniously, for the good of all, entering in with the sanction of both omens and religious rites, it would have been the source of many blessings to us—kindly services, harmony, wholesome laws, hopes of blessings from Heaven, and countless other benefits. But as it is, since it was introduced by violence, lawlessness, sedition, the fear of civil war, and by everything mankind most abhors, what good or salutary thing can one now expect will ever come of it when it had such beginnings? So that it is in vain for us to seek for a cure and for the aids which human reason suggests against the evils that are continually springing out of it, so long as the pernicious root remains. For we shall have no end of outbursts of the divine wrath, no deliverance from them, while this malignant curse and cancer, firmly imbedded in our body politic, corrupts and destroys all that is wholesome. But for the discussion of this subject another occasion will be more suitable. For the moment, since it is necessary

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παρόντα εἶ τίθεσθαι χρή, πᾶσαν εἰρωνείαν ἀφείς τάδε ὑμῖν λέγω οὔτε ὅδε ὁ νόμος οὔτ' ἄλλος οὐδεῖς ὃν οὐχ ἡ βουλὴ προβουλεύσει κύριος ἐπὶ τῆς ἐμῆς ὑπατείας γενήσεται, ἀλλὰ καὶ λόγοις ἀγωνιοῦμαι περὶ τῆς ἀριστοκρατίας, κἂν εἰς τὰ ἔργα δέῃ χωρεῖν οὐδ' ἐν¹ τούτοις² τῶν ἐναντιουμένων λελείψομαι καὶ εἰ μὴ πρότερον ἔγνωτε ὅσῃν ἰσχὺν ἔχει τὸ τῶν ὑπάτων κράτος, ἐπὶ τῆς ἐμῆς ἀρχῆς μαθήσεσθε "

XLVI. Ἀππίος μὲν δὴ ταῦτ' εἶπεν, ἐκ δὲ τῶν δημάρχων ὁ πρεσβύτατος καὶ πλείστου ἀξιώματος τυγχάνων, Γάιος Λαιτώριος, ἀνὴρ ἐν τε τοῖς πολέμοις ἐγνωσμένος εἶναι ψυχὴν οὐ κακὸς καὶ τὰ πολιτικὰ πράττειν οὐκ ἀδύνατος, ἀνίσταται πρὸς ταῦτ' ἀπολογησόμενος καὶ διηλθεν ὑπὲρ τοῦ δήμου λόγον πολὺν ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνωθεν ἀρξάμενος ὥς πολλὰς μὲν καὶ χαλεπὰς στρατείας οἱ βλασφημούμενοι πρὸς αὐτοῦ πένητες ἐστρατεύσαντο, οὐ μόνον ἐπὶ τῶν βασιλέων, ὅτε τὴν ἀνάγκην ἄν³ τις ἡτιάσατο, ἀλλὰ καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἐκείνων ἐκβολὴν ἐλευ²θερίαν κτῶμενοι τῇ πατρίδι καὶ ἡγεμονίαν ἀμοιβὴν δ' οὐδεμίαν ἐκομίσαντο παρὰ τῶν πατρικίων οὐδ' ἀπῆλυσαν οὐδενὸς τῶν κοινῶν ἀγαθῶν, ἀλλ' ὥς πολέμῳ ἀλόντες ἀφηρέθησαν ὑπ' αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν, ἣν ἀνασώσασθαι βουλόμενοι καταλιπεῖν ἡναγκάσθησαν τὴν πατρίδα πόθῳ γῆς ἐτέρας ἐν ἣ τὸ μὴ ὑβρίζεσθαι αὐτοῖς ἐλευθέροις οὖσιν ὑπάρξει καὶ οὔτε βιασάμενοι τὴν βουλήν οὔτε πολέμῳ προσαναγκάσαντες εὗροντο τὴν ἐπὶ τὰ σφέτερα κάθοδον, ἀξιούσῃ δὲ καὶ δεομένῃ τὰ ἐκλειφθέντα

¹ οὐδ' ἐν Reiske οὐδέν AB

² τούτοις B τούτων R ³ ἄν B om R

to compose the present disturbances, I put aside all equivocation and say this to you. Neither this nor any other law shall become valid during my consulship without a preliminary decree of the senate, on the contrary, I will fight for the aristocracy not only with words, but, if it shall be necessary to proceed to deeds, I shall not be outdone by its opponents even in these. And if you did not know before the extent of the consular power, you shall learn it during my term of office."

XLVI Thus Appius spoke, and, on the side of the tribunes, the oldest and most highly respected, Gaius Laetorius, a man acknowledged to be of no mean courage in warfare and not without ability in public affairs, rose up to answer him, and he delivered a long speech in behalf of the populace, beginning with the earliest times. He showed that the poor whom Appius maligned had made many hard campaigns not only under their kings, when one might say their action was due to compulsion, but also after the expulsion of the kings, when they were acquiring liberty and supremacy for the fatherland. But they had received no recompense from the patricians nor enjoyed any of the public advantages, but, like captives taken in war, had been deprived by them even of their liberty, to recover which they had been compelled to leave their country in their yearning for another land in which they might live as free men without being insulted. And they had obtained their return to their possessions neither by offering violence to the senate nor by resorting to the compulsion of war, but by yielding to it when it asked and implored

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3 ἀπολαβεῖν εἴξαντες.¹ τοὺς τε ὄρκους διεξήκει καὶ τὰς
 συνθήκας τὰς ἐπὶ τῇ καθόδῳ γενομένας ἀνεκαλείτο·
 ἐν αἷς ἦν ἀμνηστία μὲν πρῶτον ἀπάντων,² ἔπειτα
 ἐξουσία τοῖς πένησιν ἀρχὰς ἀποδεικνύναι, τιμωροὺς
 μὲν ἐσομένας σφίσιν αὐτοῖς, τοῖς δὲ κατισχύειν
 4 βουλομένοις ἀντιπάλους διεξελθὼν δὲ ταῦτα τοὺς
 νόμους ἐπεδείκνυτο οὓς ὁ δῆμος ἐπεκύρωσεν οὐ
 πρὸ πολλοῦ, τὸν τε περὶ τῶν δικαστηρίων τῆς
 μεταγωγῆς, ὡς³ ἔδωκεν ἡ βουλὴ τῷ δήμῳ τὴν
 ἐξουσίαν κρίνειν οὓς ἂν αὐτοῖς δόξειε τῶν πατρι-
 κίων, καὶ τὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς ψηφοφορίας, ὃς οὐκ ἔτι⁴
 τὴν λοχίτιν⁵ ἐκκλησίαν,⁶ ἀλλὰ τὴν φυλετικὴν⁷ ἐποίει
 τῶν ψήφων κυρίαν.

XLVII Διεξελθὼν δὲ τὸν ὑπὲρ τοῦ δήμου λόγον,
 ἐπιστρέψας ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀππιον, “Ἐπειτα σὺ τολ-
 μᾶς,” εἶπε, “λοιδορεῖσθαι τούτοις δι’ οὓς μεγάλη
 μὲν ἐκ μικρᾶς, ἐπιφανὲς δ’ ἐξ ἀδόξου γέγονεν ἡ
 πόλις, καὶ στασιαστὰς ἐτέρους ἀποκαλεῖς καὶ
 φυγαδικὴν τινα τύχην ὀνειδίζεις, ὥσπερ οὐχ ἀπάν-
 των ἔτι τούτων μεμνημένων τὸ καθ’ ὑμᾶς, ὅτι
 στασιάσαντες οἱ σοὶ πρόγονοι πρὸς τοὺς ἐν τέλει
 καὶ τὴν ἑαυτῶν πατρίδα καταλιπόντες ἐνθάδ’ ἰδρύ-
 θησαν ἰκέται, εἰ μὴ ἄρα ὑμεῖς μὲν ἐκλιπόντες
 τὴν ἑαυτῶν πατρίδα πόθῳ τῆς ἐλευθερίας καλὸν
 ἔργον ἐπράττετε, Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ τὰ ὅμοια ὑμῖν δεδρα-
 2 κότες οὐ καλὸν τολμᾶς δὲ καὶ τὴν τῶν δημάρχων

¹ After εἴξαντες ACmg add ἔδωκαν

² Kiessling πάντων O

³ ὡς O φ Portus

⁴ ἔτι R (?) εἶχε AB

⁵ κουριάτην Reiske

⁶ ἐκκλησίαν A ἐξουσίαν B

⁷ Reiske κουριάτιν O, Jacoby

them to receive back their abandoned possessions. He mentioned the oaths and appealed to the terms of the compact which had been made to induce them to return, among which there was, first, a general amnesty, and then for the poor the power of choosing magistrates who should assist them and oppose those who wished to do violence to them. After recounting these matters, he cited the laws which the people had not long before ratified, both the one concerning the transfer of the courts, by which the senate had granted to the people the power to try any of the patricians they should think fit, and also the one concerning the manner of their voting, which no longer made the centuriate assembly, but rather the tribal assembly, responsible for the voting.¹

XLVII When he had finished his defence of the populace, he turned to Appius and said: "After this do *you* dare revile these men through whom the commonwealth, once small, has become great, and, once obscure, illustrious?² And do you call your opponents seditious and reproach them for a fate akin to exile, as if all these men here did not still remember what befel your own family—that your ancestors, having raised a sedition against the authorities and abandoned their country, settled here as suppliants?² Unless, indeed, your folk, when they forsook their country through a desire for liberty, did a noble thing, but Romans, when they did the same thing as you, did an ignoble thing!" Do you dare also to revile the

¹ See the note on chap. 44, 7. Reiske's proposal to read "curiate assembly" for "centuriate assembly" was evidently based on the assumption that the reference is to the tribunician elections (chap. 41, 2), but the people did not ratify that proposed change until later (chap. 49, 4 f).

² See v. 40, 3-5.

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ἐξουσίαν ὥς ἐπὶ κακῷ παρεληλυθυῖαν εἰς τὴν πόλιν
 λοιδορεῖν καὶ πείθεις τουτουσὶ καταλῦσαι τὴν τῶν
 πενήτων ἐπικουρίαν τὴν ἱερὰν καὶ ἀκίνητον καὶ
 μεγάλαις ἡσφαλισμένην ἐκ θεῶν τε καὶ ἀνθρώπων
 ἀνάγκαις, ᾧ μισοδημότατε καὶ τυραννικώτατε,
 καὶ οὐδὲ τοῦτο ἄρα ἐδυνήθης μαθεῖν, ὅτι τῇ τε
 βουλῇ καὶ τῇ σεαυτοῦ ἀρχῇ ταῦτα λέγων λοιδορῇ,
 καὶ γὰρ ἡ βουλή διαναστᾶσα¹ πρὸς² τοὺς βασιλεῖς,
 ὧν οὐκέτι τὰς ὑπερηφανίας καὶ τὰς ὑβρεῖς ὑπο-
 φέρειν ἡξίου, τὸ τῶν ὑπάτων ἀρχεῖον κατεστήσατο,
 καὶ πρὶν ἐκείνους ἐξελάσαι τῆς πόλεως ἑτέρους
 3 ἐποίησε τῆς βασιλικῆς ἐξουσίας κυρίου ὥστε ἂ
 περὶ τῆς δημαρχίας λέγεις ὥς ἐπὶ κακῷ παρελη-
 λυθυίας, ἐπειδὴ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀπὸ διχοστασίας ἔλαβε,
 ταῦτα καὶ κατὰ τῆς ὑπατείας λέγεις. οὐδὲ γὰρ
 ἐκείνην ἄλλη τις εἰσήγαγε πρόφασιν ἀλλ' ἢ πρὸς
 4 τοὺς βασιλεῖς τῶν πατρικίων στάσις ἀλλὰ τί
 ταῦτά σοι διαλέγομαι ὥς χρηστῷ καὶ μετρίῳ
 πολίτῃ, ὃν ἅπαντες ἴσασιν οὗτοι σκαιὸν ὄντα διὰ
 γένος καὶ πικρὸν καὶ μισόδημον καὶ τὸ θηριῶδες
 ὑπὸ φύσεως οὐδέποτε ἐξημερῶσαι δυνάμενον, ἀλλ'
 οὐχ ὁμόσε χωρῷ σοι τὰ ἔργα ἐπίπροσθεν ποιησά-
 μενος τῶν λόγων, καὶ δείκνυμι ὅσῃ ἰσχὺν ὁ δῆμος
 ἔχων λέληθέ σε, ὃν οὐκ ἡσχύνθης ἀνέστιον καὶ
 ῥυπαρὸν καλῶν, καὶ ὅσον ἦδε ἡ ἀρχὴ δυναμένη,³
 ἦν σε ὁ νόμος ἐκτρέπεσθαι καὶ εἵκειν ἀναγκάζει;
 παρεῖς δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ἅπασαν εἰρωνεῖαν ἔργου
 ἐξομαι''⁴

XLVIII Ταῦτ' εἰπὼν, ὅρκον ὅσπερ μέγιστος
 αὐτοῖς ἦν διομοσάμενος ἢ τὸν νόμον ἐπικυρώσειν

¹ διαναστᾶσα R. διαστᾶσα C.

² πρὸς B. om. C, πᾶσα πρὸς R.

tribunician power as having been introduced into the commonwealth for a mischievous purpose and do you attempt to persuade these men here to abrogate this sacred and inviolable protection of the poor, safeguarded as it is by powerful sanctions which stem from both gods and men, O greatest enemy of the populace and most tyrannical of men ? Have you not been able, then, to learn even this, that in saying these things you traduce both the senate and your own magistracy ? For the senate, having risen against the kings, whose arrogance and insults they resolved to bear no longer, established the consulship, and before they had expelled the kings, invested others with the royal authority. So that everything you say against the tribunician power as having been introduced for a mischievous purpose, since it had its origin in sedition, you say against the consulship also ; for there was no other ground for introducing that magistracy than the sedition of the patricians against the kings. But why do I talk thus with you as with a good and fair-minded citizen, when all these men here know that you are by inheritance mischievous, haish and an enemy of the populace, and that you can never tame your inborn savagery ? Why do I not rather come to grips with you, preferring actions to words, and show you how great is the strength, all unknown to you, of the populace, whom you were not ashamed to call homeless and vile, and how great is the power of *this* magistracy, to which the law obliges you to give way and submit ? I too shall lay aside all equivocation and set to work."

XLVIII Having said this and sworn the strongest oath in use among the Romans that he would either

³ *δυναμένη* deleted by Kayser

⁴ Cobet . *ἀρξομαι* O.

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- ἢ τοῦ ζῆν μεθήσεσθαι, σιωπῆς γενομένης ἐκ τοῦ πλήθους καὶ ἐναγωνίου προσδοκίας ἐφ' ᾧ μέλλει δρᾶν, ἐκέλευσε μεταχωρεῖν ἐκ τῆς ἐκκλησίας τὸν Ἄππιον ὥς δ' οὐκ ἐπέιθετο, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ῥαβδούχους παραστησάμενος καὶ τὸν ὄχλον ὃν ἦγε παρασκευασάμενος οἴκοθεν ἀπεμάχετο μὴ παραχωρήσαι τῆς ἀγορᾶς, σιωπὴν ὑποκηρυξάμενος ὁ Λαιτώριος ἀνείπεν ὅτι τὸν ὑπατον εἰς φυλακὴν κελεύουσιν
- 2 ἀπάγειν¹ οἱ δῆμαρχοι. καὶ ὁ μὲν ὑπηρέτης κελευσθεὶς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ προσῆγεν ὥς τοῦ σώματος ἐπιληψόμενος τῶν δὲ ῥαβδούχων ὁ πρῶτος ἐπιτυχὼν παίων αὐτὸν ἀπήλασε κραυγῆς δ' ἐκ τῶν παρόντων γενομένης μεγάλης καὶ ἀγανακτήσεως ἔεται αὐτὸς ὁ Λαιτώριος παρακελευσάμενος τοῖς ὄχλοις ἀμύνειν, καὶ οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἄππιον στίφος ἔχοντες νέων πολὺ καὶ καρτερόν ὑφίστανται καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο λόγοι τε ἀσχήμονες ἐγένοντο εἰς ἀλλήλους καὶ καταβοαὶ καὶ σωμάτων ὠθισμοὶ καὶ τελευτῶσα εἰς χεῖρας ἀπέσκηψεν ἡ ἔρις καὶ εἰς λίθων ἥρξατο
- 3 προβαίνειν βολὰς ἐπέσχε δὲ ταῦτα καὶ τοῦ μὴ προσωτέρω χωρῆσαι τὰ δεινὰ Κοῖντιος ἄτερος τῶν ὑπάτων αἴτιος ἐγένετο, δεόμενός τε ἀπάντων καὶ λιπαρῶν σὺν τοῖς πρεσβυτάτοις τῶν ἐκ τοῦ συνεδρίου καὶ εἰς μέσους τοὺς ἀψιμαχοῦντας ὠθούμενος ἦν δὲ καὶ τῆς ἡμέρας τὸ λειπόμενον βραχὺ μέρος, ὥστε ἀκούσιοι ἀπ' ἀλλήλων διελύθησαν
- 4 Ταῖς δ' ἐξῆς ἡμέραις αἱ τ' ἀρχαὶ ἀλλήλαις ἐνέκαλουν, ὁ μὲν ὑπατος τοῖς δημάρχοις ὅτι καταλύειν αὐτοῦ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἠξίουεν ἐς τὸ δεσμοπήριον τὸν ὑπατον ἀπάγειν κελεύσαντες, τῷ δ' ὑπάτῳ οἱ δῆμαρχοι ὥς ἐμβεβληκότες πληγὰς σώμασιν ἱεροῖς

¹ ἀπάγειν ΛCmg om R

BOOK IX. 48, 1-4

get the law ratified or abandon life, the multitude meanwhile having become silent and being in an agony of expectation concerning what he was going to do, he ordered Appius to leave the assembly. And when Appius, instead of obeying, placed the lictors about him, together with the crowd which he had brought from home for that purpose, and obstinately refused to leave the Forum, Laetorius, after bidding the heralds to command silence, announced that the tribunes ordered the consul to be led away to prison. Upon this the assistant by his command advanced in order to seize the person of Appius, but the foremost lictor with a successful blow drove him back. When those present raised a great outcry and showed their resentment, Laetorius himself rushed forward after appealing to the crowds to assist him, while Appius, supported by a numerous and vigorous body of young men, stood his ground. There followed unseemly words between the factions and shouting and the pushing of body against body, and at last the strife broke out into blows and they began to throw stones. But a stop was put to this and the mischief was prevented from proceeding farther by Quintius, the other consul, who together with the oldest senators implored and entreated them all to desist, and thrust himself into the midst of the contending parties. Moreover, there was little of the day left, so that, albeit reluctantly, they separated.

During the following days not only did the magistrates indulge in accusations against one another, the consul charging the tribunes with a desire to invalidate his authority by ordering a consul to be led away to prison, and the tribunes charging the consul with having struck those whose persons were

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καὶ καθωσιωμένοις ὑπὸ τοῦ νόμου (καὶ ὁ Λαιτώριος τὰ ἔχνη τῶν πληγῶν εἶχεν ἐπὶ τῆς ὄψεως ἔτι φανερά), ἥ τε πόλις ὅλη διοιδοῦσα καὶ ἀγριαινομένη 5 διειστῆκει ἔπειτα ὁ μὲν δῆμος ἐφρούρει τὸ Καπιτώλιον ἅμα τοῖς δημάρχους, οὔτε ἡμέρας οὔτε νυκτὸς ἐκλείπων τὴν¹ φυλακὴν ἡ δὲ βουλὴ συνιοῦσα πολλὴν καὶ ἐπίπονον ἐποιεῖτο ζήτησιν ὅπως χρῆ παῦσαι τὴν διχοστασίαν, τοῦ τε κινδύνου τὸ μέγεθος ἐνθυμουμένη καὶ ὅτι οὐδὲ τοῖς ὑπάτοις τὰ αὐτὰ παρειστῆκει φρονεῖν ὁ μὲν γὰρ Κοῖντιος εἴκειν τῷ δήμῳ τὰ μέτρια ἡξίου, ὁ δ' Ἄππιος μέχρι θανάτου ἀντέχειν²

XLIX Ὡς δ' οὐδὲν ἐγένετο πέρας, χωρὶς ἐκάστους ἀπολαμβάνων ὁ Κοῖντιος, τοὺς τε δημάρχους καὶ τὸν Ἄππιον, ἐδεῖτο καὶ ἐλιπάρει καὶ τὰ κοινὰ τῶν ιδίων ἀναγκαϊότερα ἡγεῖσθαι ἡξίου ὁρῶν δὲ τοὺς μὲν ἤδη πεπειροτέρους γεγονότας, τὸν δὲ συνάρχοντα ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς αὐθαδείας μένοντα, πείθει τοὺς ἀμφὶ Λαιτώριον ὑπὲρ ἀπάντων τῶν τε ιδίων ἐγκλημάτων καὶ τῶν δημοσίων τὴν βουλὴν ποιῆσαι 2 κυρίαν ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῦτο διεπράξατο, συνεκάλει τὴν βουλὴν καὶ τοὺς δημάρχους πολλὰ ἐπαινέσας καὶ τοῦ συνάρχοντος δεηθεὶς μὴ ἀντιπράττειν τῇ σωτηρίᾳ τῆς πόλεως ἐκάλει τοὺς εἰωθότας ἀπο- 3 φαίνεσθαι γνώμας πρῶτος δὲ κληθεὶς Πόπλιος Οὐαλέριος Ποπλικόλας γνώμην ἀπεφήνατο τήνδε ὅσα μὲν ἀλλήλοις ἐγκαλοῦσιν οἳ τε δήμαρχοι καὶ ὁ ὕπατος, ὑπὲρ ὧν ἔπαθον ἢ ἔδρασαν ἐν τῇ ταραχῇ, ἐπειδὴ οὐκ ἐξ ἐπιβουλῆς οὐδ' οἰκείας πλεονεξίας

¹ τὴν B αὐτοῦ τὴν R

² Kiessling ἀντεῖχεν O

sacred and made inviolate by the law—Laetorius, indeed, bore on his face the marks, still visible, of the blows—but the whole city, filled with rage and fury, was rent with faction. Then the populace together with the tribunes proceeded to guard the Capitol both day and night without intermission. The senate assembled and entered into a long and difficult consideration of the proper means of putting a stop to the sedition, being sensible not only of the magnitude of the danger but also that not even the consuls had succeeded in being of one mind; for Quintius advised yielding to the populace in everything that was reasonable, whereas Appius proposed to resist till death.

XLIX When no end would come to the strife, Quintius took each party aside separately, the tribunes and Appius, and begged, besought and implored them to regard the public interests as more vital than their private concerns. And observing that the tribunes had become milder but that his colleague persisted in the same arrogance, he undertook to persuade Laetorius and his colleagues to refer all their complaints, both private and public, to the determination of the senate. When he had accomplished this, he assembled the senate, and after bestowing great praise upon the tribunes and begging his colleague not to act against the safety of the state, he then proceeded to call upon those who were wont to express their opinions.¹ Publius Valerius Publicola, who was called upon first, expressed the following opinion. That the mutual accusations of the tribunes and the consul relating to what they had suffered or done in the tumult, since they had gone so far, not

¹ i. e., the older members; cf. chap. 51, 3

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ἔνεκεν εἰς αὐτὰ κατέστησαν, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ¹ τῆς εἰς τὰ
 κοινὰ φιλοτιμίας, ἀφείσθαι δημοσίᾳ καὶ μηδεμίαν
 ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν εἶναι δίκην περὶ δὲ τοῦ νόμου, ἐπειδὴ
 ὁ ὑπάτος² οὐκ ἔα νόμον ἀπροβούλευτον εἰς τὴν
 ἐκκλησίαν ἐκφέρειν, προβουλευσαι μὲν περὶ τούτου
 τὸ συνέδριον τοὺς δὲ δημάρχους ἅμα τοῖς ὑπάτοις
 ἐπιμέλειαν ποιήσασθαι τῆς τε ὁμονομίας τῶν πολι-
 τῶν, ὅταν ἡ ψῆφος περὶ αὐτοῦ διαφέρηται, καὶ τῆς
 4 εὐκοσμίας. ἐπαινεσάντων δὲ τὴν γνώμην ἀπάντων
 εὐθὺς ἀνέδωκε τὴν ὑπὲρ τοῦ νόμου ψῆφον ὁ
 Κοῖντιος τῷ συνεδρίῳ, καὶ πολλὰ μὲν Ἀππίου
 κατηγορήσαντος, πολλὰ δὲ τῶν δημάρχων ἀντι-
 λεξάντων, ἐνῖκα παρὰ πολλὰς ψήφους ἢ τὸν νόμον
 εἰσφέρειν ἀξιούσα γνώμη ἐπικυρωθέντος δὲ τοῦ
 προβουλεύματος αἱ τε ἴδιαι τῶν ἀρχόντων δια-
 φοραὶ διελύθησαν καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἀγαπητῶς δεξά-
 μενος τὸ συγχώρημα τῆς βουλῆς ἐπεψήφισε τὸν
 5 νόμον ἀπ' ἐκείνου τοῦ χρόνου τὰ τῶν δημάρχων
 καὶ ἀγορανόμων ἀρχαιρέσια μέχρι τοῦ καθ' ἡμᾶς
 χρόνου δίχα οἰωνῶν τε καὶ τῆς ἄλλης ὀπτείας ἀπά-
 σης αἱ φυλετικαὶ ψηφοφοροῦσιν ἐκκλησίαι αὕτη
 λύσις ἐγένετο τῆς τότε κατασχούσης ταραχῆς τὴν
 πόλιν

L Καὶ μετ' οὐ πολὺ στρατιάς ἐδόκει Ῥωμαίοις
 καταγράφειν καὶ τοὺς ὑπάτους ἐκπέμπειν ἀμφοτέ-
 ρους ἐπὶ τε Αἰκανοὺς καὶ Οὐολούσκους δυνάμεις
 γὰρ ἐξ³ ἑκατέρων τῶν ἐθνῶν ἐξεληλυθέναι ἡγγέλ-
 λοντο μεγάλα καὶ προνομεύειν τοὺς Ῥωμαίων
 συμμάχους παρασκευασθεισῶν δὲ τῶν δυνάμεων

¹ Sylburg · ὑπὲρ O

² Ἀππίος after ὑπάτος deleted by Cobet

³ ἐξ B ἀφ' AC

with malice aforethought or for personal advantage, but out of rivalry in their zeal for the public welfare, should be publicly dismissed and that no suit should be brought because of them. As to the proposed law, since the consul would not allow any law to be presented to the assembly without a preliminary vote of the senate, he advised that the senate should vote upon it first, also that the tribunes together with the consuls should take care to preserve harmony and decorum among the citizens when the vote should be taken concerning it. This advice being approved of by all, Quintius immediately put the question to the senate concerning the law, and after many objections offered by Appius and many rejoinders made by the tribunes the motion to lay it before the populace was carried by a large majority. The preliminary decree having been thus passed, the private differences of the magistrates were composed, and the populace, gladly accepting this concession of the senate, ratified the law. From that time down to our own the tribunes and the aediles have been chosen in the tribal assemblies¹ without auspices or any other religious observances. This was the end of the tumult which disturbed the commonwealth at that time.

L Not long afterwards² the Romans decided to enrol armies and to send out both consuls against the Aequians and the Volscians, for it was reported that large forces from both these nations had taken the field and were then pillaging the territories of the Romans' allies. The armies being soon ready, Quin-

¹ See the note on chap. 41, 2.

² Cf. Livy II. 58, 3-60, 5

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σὺν τάχει Κοίντιος μὲν Αἰκανοῖς πολεμήσων ὥχето,
 "Αππιος δὲ Οὐολούσκοις, κλήρῳ διαλαχόντες τὰς
 ἀρχάς συνέβη δὲ τῶν ὑπάτων ἑκατέρῳ τὰ εἰκότα
 2 πάσχειν ἢ μὲν γὰρ τῷ Κοιντίῳ προσνεμηθεῖσα
 στρατιὰ τὴν ἐπιείκειάν τε καὶ μετριότητα τοῦ
 ἀνδρὸς ἀσπαζομένη πρόθυμος ἦν εἰς ἅπαντα τὰ
 ἐπιταττόμενα, καὶ τὰ πλεῖστα αὐτοκέλευστος ὑφ-
 ίστατο κινδυνεύματα δόξαν τῷ ἡγεμόνι καὶ τιμὴν
 πράττουσα καὶ διεξῆλθε πολλὴν τῆς Αἰκανῶν
 χώρας λεηλατοῦσα οὐ τολμώντων εἰς χεῖρας ἔλθειν
 τῶν πολεμίων, ἐξ ἧς λάφυρα πολλὰ καὶ ὠφελείας
 μεγάλας ἐκτήσατο χρόνον δ' οὐ πολὺν ἐν τῇ
 πολεμίᾳ διατρίψασα παρῆν εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἀπαθὴς
 κακῶν, λαμπρὸν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἔργοις τὸν στρατηγὸν
 3 ἄγουσα ἢ δὲ τῷ Ἀππίῳ συνεξελθοῦσα¹ δύναμις
 μίσει τῷ πρὸς αὐτὸν πολλὰ ὑπερεΐδε τῶν πατρίων
 τά τε γὰρ ἄλλα ἐθελοκακοῦσα ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ στρατείᾳ
 καὶ ὀλιγωροῦσα τοῦ ἡγεμόνος διετέλεσε, καὶ ἐπει-
 δὴ μάχεσθαι ἔδει τῇ Οὐολούσκων στρατιᾷ, κατα-
 σταθεῖσα ὑπὸ τῶν ἡγεμόνων εἰς τάξιν οὐκ ἡξίωσε
 τοῖς πολεμίοις εἰς χεῖρας ἵεναι· ἀλλ' οἷ τε λοχαγοὶ
 καὶ οἱ πρόμαχοι αὐτῶν, οἱ μὲν² τὰ σημεῖα ῥύβαντες,
 οἱ δὲ τὴν τάξιν³ ἐγκαταλιπόντες ἐπὶ τὸν χάρακα
 4 ἔφευγον καὶ εἰ μὴ θαυμάσαντες τὸ παράλογον
 τῆς φυγῆς αὐτῶν οἱ πολέμιοι καὶ δείσαντες μὴ
 ἐνέδρα τις ᾗ, τῆς ἐπὶ πλεῖον διώξεως ἀπετράποντο,
 τὸ πλεῖον ἂν μέρος τῶν Ῥωμαίων διέφθαρτο
 ἐποιοῦν δὲ ταῦτα φθόνῳ τοῦ ἡγεμόνος, ἵνα μὴ

¹ Reiske συνελθοῦσα Ο

² οἱ μὲν om B.

³ οἱ δὲ τὴν τάξιν om BC

tius set out to make war against the Aequians and Appius against the Volscians, these commands having fallen to them by lot. And the fortunes of each of the consuls were such as might have been expected. The army assigned to Quintius, pleased with the fairness and moderation of their general, were eager to carry out all his orders, and undertook most of the hazards unbidden, thereby achieving glory and honour for their commander. They overran a large part of the country of the Aequians and plundered it, the enemy not daring to come to an engagement; and from it they acquired great booty and rich spoils. After tarrying a short time in the enemy's country they returned to the city without any losses, bringing their general home illustrious because of his exploits. But the army that went out with Appius because of their hatred of him disregarded many of the principles of their ancestors. In fact, during the whole campaign they not only played the coward deliberately and treated their general with contempt, but particularly when they were to engage the army of the Volscians and their commanders had drawn them up in order of battle, they refused to come to grips with the enemy, but both the centurions and the *antesignani*,¹ some throwing away their standards and others quitting their posts, fled to the camp. And if the enemy, wondering at their unexpected flight and fearing there might be an ambush, had not turned back from pursuing them farther, the greater part of the Romans would have been destroyed. The troops acted thus because of the grudge they bore to their general, lest he should

¹ The soldiers, specially chosen, who fought before the standards

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καλὸν ἀγώνισμα ὁ ἀνὴρ διαπραξάμενος θριάμβῳ τε
 5 καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις ἐπιλαμπρυνθῇ τιμαῖς. τῇ δὲ κατ-
 ὅπιν ἡμέρᾳ τὰ μὲν ἐπιτιμῶντος αὐτοῖς τοῦ ὑπάτου
 τῆς ἀδόξου φυγῆς, τὰ δὲ παρακαλοῦντος αἰσχιστον
 ἔργον ἀναλύσασθαι καλῶ ἀγῶνι, τὰ δ' ἀπειλοῦντος,
 εἰ μὴ στήσονται παρὰ τὰ δεινὰ, χρήσεσθαι τοῖς
 νόμοις, ἀπειθεία τε διεχρῶντο καὶ καταβοῇ καὶ
 ἀπάγειν σφᾶς ἐκέλευον ἐκ τῆς πολεμίας ὡς ἀδύ-
 νατοι ἔτι ὄντες ὑπὸ τραυμάτων ἀντέχειν· κατ-
 εδήσαντο γὰρ αὐτῶν οἱ πολλοὶ τοὺς ὑγιεῖς χρῶτας
 ὡς τραυματίαι ὥστε ὁ Ἄππιος ἠναγκάσθη ἀπάγειν
 τὸν στρατὸν ἐκ τῆς πολεμίας, καὶ οἱ Οὐολοῦσκοι
 ἀπιούσιν ἐπόμενοι πολλοὺς αὐτῶν ἀπέκτειναν
 6 ὡς δ' ἐν τῇ φιλίᾳ ἐγένοντο, συναγαγὼν εἰς ἐκ-
 κλησίαν αὐτοὺς ὁ ὑπάτος καὶ πολλὰ ὀνειδίσας ἔφη
 χρήσεσθαι τῇ κατὰ τῶν λιποτακτῶν¹ κολάσει καὶ
 πολλὰ δεομένων τῶν πρεσβευτῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων
 τῶν ἐν τέλει μετριάσαι καὶ μὴ συμφορὰν ἐπὶ
 συμφορᾷ προσθεῖναι τῇ πόλει, λόγον οὐδενὸς αὐτῶν
 7 ποιησάμενος ἐκύρωσε τὴν κόλασιν καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο
 οἱ λοχαγοὶ τε ὧν οἱ λόχοι ἔφυγον, καὶ οἱ πρόμαχοι
 τῶν σημείων ὅσοι τὰ σημεία ἀπολωλέκεσαν, οἱ μὲν
 πελέκει τοὺς αὐχένας ἀπεκόπησαν, οἱ δὲ ξύλοις
 παιόμενοι διεφθάρησαν ἐκ δὲ τοῦ ἄλλου πλήθους
 ἀπὸ δεκάδος ἐκάστης εἰς ἀνὴρ ὁ λαχὼν κλήρῳ
 πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπέθνησκεν αὕτη Ῥωμαίοις
 πάτριός ἐστι κατὰ τῶν λιπόντων τὰς τάξεις ἢ
 προεμένων τὰς σημείας ἢ κόλασις καὶ μετὰ ταῦτ'
 αὐτὸς τε μισούμενος ὁ στρατηγὸς καὶ τῆς στρατιᾶς
 ὅσον ἔτι περιῆν κατηφὲς καὶ ἄτιμον ἐπαγόμενος,

¹ λιποτακτῶν Ba . λειποτακτῶν R.

win a brilliant engagement and so obtain the distinction of a triumph and the other honours. And the following day, when the consul alternately upbraided them for their inglorious flight, exhorted them to redeem their most disgraceful conduct by a noble effort, and threatened to invoke the laws against them if they would not stand firm in the face of danger, they broke out into disobedience, clamoured against him and bade him lead them out of the enemy's country, alleging that they were no longer able to hold out by reason of their wounds, for most of them had bound up the sound parts of their bodies as if they had been wounded. Hence Appius was obliged to withdraw his army from the enemy's country, and the Volscians, pursuing them as they retreated, killed many of them. As soon as they were in friendly territory, the consul assembled the troops, and after uttering many reproaches said that he would inflict upon them the punishment ordained against those who quit their posts. And though the legates and the other officers earnestly besought him to use moderation and not to heap one calamity after another upon the commonwealth, he paid no heed to any of them but confirmed the punishment. Thereupon the centurions whose centuries had run away and the *antesignani* who had lost their standards were either beheaded with an axe or beaten to death with rods, as for the rank and file, one man chosen by lot out of every ten was put to death for the rest. This is the traditional punishment among the Romans for those who desert their posts or yield their standards. Afterwards, the general, an object of hatred himself and leading back, dejected and disgraced, what was left of his army,

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τῶν ἀρχαιρεσιῶν καθηκόντων ἀνέστρεψεν εἰς τὴν πατρίδα

LI Ἀποδειχθέντων δὲ μετ' ἐκείνους ὑπάτων Λευκίου Οὐαλερίου τὸ δεύτερον καὶ Τιβερίου Αἰμιλίου βραχύν τινα χρόνον ἐπισχόντες οἱ δήμαρχοι τὸν ὑπὲρ κληρουχίας πάλιν εἰσήγον λόγον καὶ προσιόντες τοῖς ὑπάτοις ἡξίουں βεβαιῶσαι τῷ δήμῳ τὰς ὑποσχέσεις ἃς ἐποιήσατο ἡ βουλὴ Σπορίου Κασσίου καὶ Πρόκλου Οὐεργινίου ὑπατευόντων, ² δεόμενοι τε καὶ λιπαροῦντες καὶ οἱ ὕπατοι αὐτοῖς συνελάμβανον ἀμφοτέροι, Τιβέριος μὲν Αἰμίλιος κότον τινὰ παλαιὸν εἰς τὴν βουλὴν οὐκ ἄλογον ἀναφέρων ὅτι τῷ πατρὶ αὐτοῦ θρίαμβον αἰτουμένῳ κατάγειν οὐκ ἐπέτρεψεν, ὁ δὲ Οὐαλέριος ἀποθεραπεῦσαι τοῦ δήμου τὴν ὀργὴν βουλόμενος ἣν εἶχε πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῷ Σπορίου Κασσίου θανάτῳ, ὃν ἀπέκτεινεν ὡς ἐπιχειροῦντα βασιλεῖα ταμίας τότε ὢν Οὐαλέριος, ἄνδρα τῶν κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν ἡλικίαν γενομένων ἐπιφανέστατον ἐν ἡγεμονίαις τε πολέμων καὶ πολιτικαῖς πράξεσιν, ὃς καὶ τὸ περὶ τῆς κληρουχίας πολίτευμα πρῶτος εἰσήγαγεν εἰς τὴν πόλιν, καὶ δι' αὐτὸ μάλιστα ὑπὸ τῶν πατρικίων, ὡς δήμον ³ αἰρούμενος¹ πρὸ² αὐτῶν, ἐμισήθη τότε δ' οὖν ὑποσχομένων τῶν ὑπάτων αὐτοῖς προθήσειν ἐν τῇ βουλῇ τὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς διανομῆς τῶν δημοσίων κλήρων λόγον καὶ τῆς ἐπικυρώσεως τοῦ νόμου συναρῆσθαι,³ πιστεύσαντες αὐτοῖς οἱ δήμαρχοι παρήσαν ἐπὶ τὴν βουλὴν καὶ λόγους διεξῆλθον ἐπιεικεῖς οἷς οὐδὲν ἀντιλέξαντες οἱ ὕπατοι ὡς μὴ φιλονεικίας δόξαν ἀπενέγκαιντο, γνώμην ἀποδείκνυσθαι τοὺς πρεσβυ-

¹ αἰρούμενος R ἀναιρούμενος A, Jacoby

² Steph ² πρὸς AB.

³ Reiske συναιρῆσθαι O.

BOOK IX. 50, 7—51, 3

the elections being now at hand, returned to the fatherland

LI When Lucius Valerius¹ (for the second time) and Tiberius Aemilius had been appointed as the next consuls, the tribunes after a short delay brought up again the question of the land-allotment, and coming to the consuls, they asked them, with prayers and entreaties, to fulfil for the populace the promises which the senate had made in the consulship of Spurius Cassius and Proculus Verginius.² Both consuls favoured their request, Tiberius Aemilius bringing up an old and not unreasonable grudge against the senate because it had refused a triumph to his father when he asked for it, and Valerius from a desire to heal the anger of the populace directed against him because of the death of Spurius Cassius, whom he, being quaestor at the time, had caused to be put to death for aiming at tyranny. Cassius had been the most distinguished of his contemporaries both in military commands and in civil affairs; moreover, he was the first to introduce into the commonwealth the measure concerning the allotment of lands and for that reason in particular was hated by the patricians as one who preferred the populace to them. At the time in question, at any rate, when the consuls promised them to bring up in the senate the question of the division of the public lands and to assist in securing the ratification of the law, the tribunes trusted them, and going to the senate, they spoke with moderation. And the consuls, desiring to avoid any appearance of contention, said nothing in opposition, but asked the oldest

¹ For chaps. 51-54 cf. Livy II 61

² 484 B C, see VIII. 76.

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† τάτους ἡξίου. ἦν δ' ὁ πρῶτος ὑπ' αὐτῶν κληθεὶς
 Λεύκιος Αἰμίλιος θατέρου τῶν ὑπάτων πατήρ ὃς
 ἔφη δοκεῖν αὐτῷ καὶ δίκαιον καὶ συμφέρον ἔσθαι
 τῇ πόλει πάντων εἶναι τὰ κοινὰ καὶ μὴ ὀλίγων, τῷ
 τε δήμῳ πείθοντι ὑπουργεῖν συνεβούλευεν, ἵνα χάρις
 ἢ παραχώρησις αὐτῶν γένηται πολλὰ γὰρ καὶ
 ἄλλα μὴ δόντας αὐτῷ κατὰ προαίρεσιν, ὑπ' ἀνάγκης
 συγκεχωρηκέναι τοὺς τε κατέχοντας τὰς κτήσεις
 ὧν ἐκαρπώσαντο χρόνων λαθόντες ἡξίου χάριν
 5 εἰδέναι, κωλυομένους δὲ μὴ φιλοχωρεῖν ἔφη τε
 σὺν τῷ δικαίῳ, ὃ πάντες ἀν¹ ὁμολογήσειαν ἰσχυρὸν
 εἶναι, τὰ μὲν δημόσια κοινὰ πάντων εἶναι, τὰ δ'
 ἴδια ἐκάστου τῶν νόμῳ κτησαμένων, καὶ ἀναγκαῖον
 ἦδη τὸ πρᾶγμα ὑπὸ τῆς² βουλῆς γεγονέναι πρὸ
 ἑτῶν ἑπτακαίδεκα τὴν γῆν διανέμειν ψηφισαμένης
 καὶ τοῦτ' ἀπέφηνεν ἐπὶ τῷ συμφέροντι τότε αὐτὴν
 βεβουλευσθαι, ἵνα μήτε γῇ χέρσος ἦ καὶ ὁ τὴν
 πόλιν οἰκουρῶν πένης ὄχλος³ μὴ ἀργός, ὥσπερ νῦν,
 τοῖς ἀλλοτρίοις ἀγαθοῖς φθονῶν, ἐπιτρέφεται δὲ⁴ τῇ
 πόλει νεότης ἐν ἐφεστίοις καὶ κλήροις πατρώοις,⁵
 ἔχουσά τι καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ καλῶς τεθράφθαι⁶ μέγα
 6 φρονεῖν ἐπεὶ τοῖς γε ἀκλήροις καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἀλλο-
 τρίων κτημάτων,⁷ ἃ μισθοῦ ἐργάζονται, γλίσχρως
 διατρεφομένοις ἢ ἀρχῇθεν μὴ ἐμφύεσθαι ἔρωτα

¹ ἀν added by Cobet

³ ὄχλος ACmg om R

⁵ πατρίοις B

⁷ Sylburg

² τῆς added by Reiske

⁴ δὲ Steph om AB

⁶ Cobet τετράφθαι O.
 χρημάτων O

BOOK IX. 51, 4-6

senators to express their opinions. The first person called upon was Lucius Aemilius, the father of one of the consuls, who said it seemed to him that it would be both just and for the interest of the commonwealth that the possessions of the public should belong to all and not to a few, and he advised them to support the plea of the populace, in order that this concession on their part might be regarded as a favour; for many other things which they had not granted them by choice they had yielded through necessity. He felt also that those who were occupying these possessions ought to be grateful for the time they had enjoyed them without being detected, and when prevented from using them longer should not cling to them obstinately. He added that, along with the principle of justice, the force of which all would acknowledge, according to which the public possessions are the common property of all and private possessions the property of the one who has acquired them according to law, the action had also become unavoidable now through the action of the senate, which seventeen years before had ordered that the land be divided. And he declared that it had reached this decision at that time in the public interest, to the end that neither the land should go uncultivated nor the multitude of poor people dwelling in the city should live in idleness, envying the advantages of the others as was now the case, and that young men might be reared up for the state in the homes and on the lands of their fathers, deriving also some pride of spirit from this very rearing. For such as have no lands of their own and live miserably off the possessions of others which they cultivate for hire either do not feel any desire at all to

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γενεᾶς τέκνων ἢ ἐμφύντα πονηρὸν ἐκφέρειν καρπὸν
καὶ οὐδ' εὖτυχῇ, ἐκ ταπεινῶν τε συμπορισθέντα οἶα
εἰκὸς γάμων καὶ ἐν κατεπτωχευμέναις τραφέντα
7 τύχαις “Ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν,” ἔφη, “γνώμην ἀπο-
δείκνυμαι, τὰ τε προβουλευθέντα ὑπὸ τοῦ συνεδρίου
καὶ διὰ τὰς μεταξὺ ταραχὰς παρειλκυσμένα ἐμ-
πεδοῦν τοὺς ὑπάτους, καὶ τοὺς ποιησομένους τὴν
διανομὴν ἄνδρας ἀποδεικνύναι”

LII Ταῦτ' εἰπόντος Αἰμιλίου δεύτερος κληθεὶς
Ἀππίος Κλαύδιος, ὁ τῷ πρόσθεν ὑπατεύσας ἔτει,
τὴν ἐναντίαν γνώμην ἀπεφώνησε, διδάσκων ὥς
οὐθ' ἡ βουλὴ διανεῖμαι τὰ δημόσια¹ προαίρεσιν
ἔσχε (πάσαι γὰρ ἂν εἰληφέναι τὰ δόξαντ' αὐτῇ
τέλος), ἀλλ' εἰς χρόνον καὶ διάγνωσιν ἑτέραν² ἀνε-
βάλετο, παῦσαι προθυμουμένη τὴν τότε κατασχοῦ-
σαν στάσιν, ἣν εἰσήγεν ὁ τῇ τυραννίδι ἐπιχειρῶν
2 ὑπατος καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα δίκας δοὺς καλὰς· οὔτε οἱ
μετὰ τὸ προβούλευμα λαχόντες³ ὑπατοὶ τέλος τοῖς
ἐψηφισμένοις ἐπέθεσαν, ὀρῶντες ὅσων εἰσελεύσεται
κακῶν εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἀρχὴ συνεθισθέντων τὰ κοινὰ
τῶν πενήτων διαλαγχάνειν αἷ τε μετ' ἐκείνους
πεντεκαίδεκα ὑπατεῖαι πολλῶν αὐταῖς⁴ ἐπαχθέν-
των ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου κινδύνων οὐδὲν ὑπέμειναν ὁ
μὴ συνέφερε τῷ⁵ κοινῷ⁶ πράττειν, διὰ τὸ μηδ' ἐξ-
εῖναι σφίσι κατὰ τὸ προβούλευμα τοὺς γεωμόρους⁷
ἀποδεικνύνειν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς πρώτοις ἐκείνοις ὑπάτοις.

¹ δημόσια B · δημόσια πράγματα R

² εἰς χρόνον ἕτερον καὶ διάγνωσιν Steph ²

³ λαχόντες C λαβόντες R, λαβόντες ὑπατεῖαν Syllburg

⁴ Syllburg αὐτοῖς AB

⁵ συνέφερε τῷ B συνέφερετο A

⁶ κοινῷ added by Kiessling ⁷ γε ὠμόρους B τε ὠμόρους AC.

¹ The word γεωμόροι (Doric γαμόροι) usually means “land-
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beget children, or, if they do, produce a sorry and wretched offspring, such as might be expected of those who are the fruit of humble marriages and are reared in beggared circumstances. "As for me, then," he said, "the motion I make is that the consuls should carry out the preliminary decree which was then passed by the senate and has since been delayed by reason of the intervening disturbances, and appoint the men to divide the land."

LII Aemilius having spoken thus, Appius Claudius, who had been consul the preceding year, being the second person called upon, expressed the contrary opinion, pointing out that neither the senate had had any intention of dividing the public possessions—for in that case its decree would long since have been carried out—but had deferred it to a later time for further consideration, its concern being to put a stop to the sedition then raging, which had been stirred up by the consul who was aiming at tyranny and afterwards suffered deserved punishment; nor had the first consuls chosen after the preliminary decree put the vote into effect, when they saw what a source of evils would be introduced into the state if the poor were once accustomed to get by allotment the public possessions, nor did the consuls of the following fifteen years, though they were threatened with many dangers from the populace, consent to do anything that was not in the public interest, for the reason that no authority even was given to them by the preliminary decree to appoint the land commissioners,¹ but only to those first owners", but here it clearly refers to the men who were to make the allotments. The word is somewhat corrupted in our MSS., though all the readings point to γεωμόρους. Dionysius uses the word again in v. 38, 4 in the same sense.

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- 3 “Ὡστε οὐδ’ ὑμῖν,” ἔφησεν, “ὦ Οὐαλέριε, καὶ
 σύ, Αἰμίλιε, γῆς ἀναδασμούς εἰσφέρειν οὓς οὐκ
 ἐπέταξεν ὑμῖν τὸ συνέδριον οὔτε καλῶς ἔχει,
 προγόνων οὖσιν ἀγαθῶν, οὔτ’ ἀσφαλῶς καὶ περὶ
 μὲν τοῦ προβουλεύματος, ὥς οὐ κρατεῖσθε ὑπ’
 αὐτοῦ οἱ τοσούτοις ὕστερον ὑπατεύσαντες χρόνοις,
 4 ταῦθ’ ἱκανά περὶ δὲ τοῦ βιασαμένους τινὰς ἢ
 λαθόντας σφετερίσασθαι τὰ δημόσια βραχὺς ἀπ-
 ἀρκεῖ μοι λόγος εἰ γάρ τις οἶδε καρπούμενόν τινα
 ὦν οὐκ ἔχει κτῆσιν ἀποδείξαι νόμῳ, μήνυσιν ἀπ-
 ενεγκάτω πρὸς τοὺς ὑπάτους καὶ κρινάτω κατὰ
 τοὺς νόμους, οὓς οὐ νεωστὶ δεῆσει γράφειν· πάλαι
 γὰρ ἐγράφησαν, καὶ οὐδεὶς αὐτοὺς ἠφάνικε χρόνος.
 5 ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ περὶ τοῦ συμφέροντος ἐποιεῖτο λόγους
 Αἰμίλιος, ὥς ἐπὶ τῷ πάντων ἀγαθῷ τῆς κληρουχίας
 ἐσομένης, οὐδὲ τοῦτο τὸ μέρος ἀνέλεγκτον ἔασαι
 βούλομαι. ἐμοὶ γὰρ δοκεῖ τὸ αὐτόθι μόνον οὗτός
 γε ὄραν, τὸ δὲ μέλλον οὐ προσκοπεῖν, ὅτι τὸ¹
 μικρὸν εἶναι δοκοῦν, δοῦναί τι² τῶν δημοσίων τοῖς
 ἀργοῖς καὶ ἀπόροις, πολλῶν ἔσται καὶ μεγάλων
 6 κακῶν αἴτιον τὸ γὰρ ἔθος τὸ συνεισπορευόμενον
 ἅμα τούτῳ καὶ διαμένον ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ³ μέχρι
 παντὸς ὀλέθριον ἔσται καὶ δεινόν οὐ γὰρ ἐξαιρεῖ
 τὰς πονηρὰς ἐπιθυμίας ἐκ τῆς ψυχῆς τὸ τυγχά-
 νειν αὐτῶν, ἀλλ’ αὔξει καὶ πονηροτέρας ποιεῖ
 τεκμήρια δ’ ὑμῖν γενέσθω τούτων τὰ ἔργα τί γὰρ
 δεῖ τοῖς λόγοις ὑμᾶς τοῖς ἐμοῖς ἢ τοῖς Αἰμιλίου
 προσέχειν,

¹ τὸ R om B, Jacoby

² δοῦναί τι Post εἴ τι Ba, ἔτι R, ἐπὶ Jacoby Reiske read
 ἔτι τὸ and added μεταδιδόναι after ἀπόροις

³ καὶ deleted by Smit Reiske added προῖον after παντὸς
 Cobet proposed διαμενεῖ for διαμένον

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suls " So that for you men also, Valerius, yes, and you too, Aemilius, to propose allotments of land which the senate did not direct you to carry out is neither honourable, descended as you are from worthy ancestors, nor is it safe As regards the preliminary decree, then, let this suffice to show that you who have become consuls so many years afterwards are not bound by it As for any who may, either forcibly or stealthily, have appropriated to themselves the public possessions, a few words will serve my purpose If anyone knows that another is enjoying the use of property to which he cannot support his title by law, let him give information of it to the consuls and prosecute him according to the laws, which will not have to be drawn up afresh ; for they were drawn up long since, and no lapse of time has abrogated them. But since Aemilius has spoken also about the advantage of this measure, asserting that the allotting of the land will be for the good of all, I do not wish to leave this point either unrefuted For he, it seems to me, looks only to the present, and does not foresee the future, namely, that the granting of a portion of the public possessions to the idle and the poor, which now seems to him of small importance, will be the cause of many great evils, since the custom thereby introduced will not only continue in the state, but will for all time prove pernicious and dangerous For the gratification of evil desires does not eradicate them from the soul, but rather strengthens them and renders them still more evil Let the facts convince you of this ; for why should you pay any attention to words, either mine or those of Aemilius ?

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LIII. “ Ἴστε δὴ πού πάντες ὅσους ἐχειρωσάμεθα πολεμίους, καὶ ὅσῃν προενομεύσαμεν, καὶ ὅσα λάφυρα ἐκ τῶν ἀλόντων χωρίων ἐλάβομεν, ὧν οἱ πολέμιοι στερόμενοι τέως εὐδαίμονες ὄντες ἐν πολλῇ νῦν καθεστήκασιν ἀπορία καὶ ὅτι τούτων οὐδενὸς ἀπηλάθθησαν οὐδὲ μείον ἐκτήσαντο ἐν ταῖς
 2 διανομαῖς¹ οἱ τὴν ἀπορίαν ὀδυρόμενοι ἄρ’ οὖν διὰ ταύτας τὰς ἐπικτήσεις ἐπανορθωσάμενοι φαίνονται τι τῆς παλαιᾶς τύχης καὶ προελελυθότες εἰς ἐπιφάνειαν τοῖς βίοις, ἐβουλόμην μὲν ἂν καὶ θεοῖς εὐξάμην, ἵνα ἦττον ἦσαν ἐπίσκονοι² λυπηροὶ τῇ πόλει· νῦν δέ, ὁρᾶτε γὰρ καὶ ἀκούετε αὐτῶν ὀδυρομένων ὅτι ἐν ἐσχάτῃ εἰσὶν ἀπορία. ὥστε οὐδ’ εἰ ταῦτα ἂ νῦν αἰτοῦνται καὶ ἔτι πλείω³ τούτων
 3 λάβοιεν, ἐπανορθώσονται τοὺς βίους οὐ γὰρ ἐν ταῖς τύχαις αὐτῶν ἐνοικεῖ τὸ ἄπορον, ἀλλ’ ἐν τοῖς τρόποις οὓς οὐχ οἶον ὁ βραχὺς οὗτος ἐκπληρώσει κλῆρος, ἀλλ’ οὐδ’ αἱ σύμπασαι βασιλέων τε καὶ τυράννων δωρεαὶ δράσομέν τε, εἰ καὶ ταῦτα συγχωρήσομεν αὐτοῖς, ὅμοια τοῖς πρὸς ἡδονὴν θεραπεύουσι τοὺς κάμνοντας ἰατροῖς οὐ γὰρ τὸ νοσοῦν ὑγιασθήσεται τῆς πολιτείας μέρος, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ ὑγιαῖνον ἀπολαύσει τῆς νόσου καθόλου τε, ὦ βουλή, πολλῆς ὑμῖν δεῖ ἐπιμελείας τε καὶ φροντίδος ὅπως ἂν σώσητε πάσῃ προθυμίᾳ δια-
 4 φθειρόμενα τὰ ἦθ⁴ τῆς πόλεως ὁρᾶτε γὰρ εἰς ἃ προελήλυθεν ἡ τοῦ δήμου ἀκοσμία καὶ ὥς οὐκέτι ἄρχεσθαι πρὸς τῶν ὑπάτων ἀξιοῖ ὧ γὰρ οὐ μετ-

¹ ἐν ταῖς διανομαῖς B om R

² ἐπίσκονοι B οἱ ἐπίσκοποι R

³ πλείω B πλέον AC

⁴ Sylburg ἔθῃ O

LIII "You all know, to be sure, how many enemies we have overcome, how much territory we have ravaged, and how great spoils we have taken from the towns we have captured, the loss of which has reduced the enemy from their former prosperity to great want, and that those who now bewail their poverty were excluded from none of these spoils nor had less than their share in the distribution of them. Do they appear, then, to have improved their former condition at all by these further acquisitions or to have attained to any distinction in their lives? I could wish and have prayed to the gods that they might do so, in order that they might have been to a less extent mere transients,¹ a nuisance to the city. But as it is, you see and hear them complaining that they are in the direst want. So that not even if they should receive what they now ask for—aye, still more than that—will they effect any improvement in their lives. For their poverty is not inherent in their condition in life, but in their character, and not only will this small portion of land not supply their lack of that, but not even all the largesses of kings and despots would do so. If we make this concession also to them, we shall be like those physicians whose treatment of the sick is to tickle their palates. For the diseased part of the commonwealth will not be cured, but even the sound part will catch the disease. In general, senators, you need to take much care and thought how you may preserve with all possible zeal the morals of the commonwealth which are being corrupted. For you see to what lengths the unruliness of the populace has gone and that they no longer care to be governed by the consuls, indeed, they

¹ Literally, "billeted troops"

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ἐμέλησε τῶν ἐνθάδε πραττομένων, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπὶ
 στρατοπέδου τὴν αὐτὴν ἀπεδείξατο ἀκοσμίαν, ὅπλα
 τε ῥίψας καὶ τάξεις ἐκλιπὼν καὶ σημεῖα πολεμίοις
 προέμενος καὶ φυγῇ πρὶν εἰς χεῖρας ἔλθειν ἐπονει-
 δίστω χρησάμενος, ὥσπερ ἐμοῦ μόνον ἀφαιρησό-
 μενος τὴν ἐκ τῆς νίκης δόξαν, ἀλλ' οὐχὶ καὶ τῆς
 5 πατρίδος τὸ κατὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν κλέος¹ καὶ νῦν
 Οὐολούσκοις κατὰ Ῥωμαίων ἴσταται τρόπαια, καὶ
 κοσμεῖται τοῖς ἡμετέροις² λαφύροις τὰ κείνων ἱερὰ
 καὶ ἐν αὐχήμασιν ἡλίκους οὐπώποτε αἱ πόλεις
 αὐτῶν εἰσιν, τέως ὑπὲρ ἀνδραποδισμοῦ τε καὶ κατα-
 6 σκαφῆς τῶν ἡμετέρων³ δεόμεναι ἡγεμόνων. ἄρα γε
 δίκαιον ἢ καλὸν ἐπὶ τοιούτοις κατορθώμασι χάριν
 αὐτοῖς ὑμᾶς εἰδέναι, καὶ δημοσίαις ἐπικοσμεῖν δω-
 ρεαῖς κληρουχήσαντες τὴν γῆν ἧς πολέμιοι κρατοῦσι
 τὸ κατὰ τούτους εἶναι μέρος, ἀλλὰ τί δεῖ τούτοις
 ἐγκαλεῖν οἷς δι' ἀπαιδευσίαν τε καὶ δυσγένειαν
 ὀλίγος ἐστὶ τῶν καλῶν λόγος, ὁρῶντας ὡς οὐδ' ἐν
 τοῖς ὑμετέροις ἦθεσι πᾶσιν ἔτι τὸ ἀρχαῖον οἰκεῖ
 φρόνημα, ἀλλ' αὐθάδεια μὲν ἢ σεμνότης καλεῖται
 πρὸς ἐνίων, μωρία δ' ἢ δικαιοσύνη, μανικὸν δὲ τὸ
 ἀνδρεῖον, καὶ ἡλίθιον τὸ σῶφρον, ἃ δὲ μισητὰ
 παρὰ τοῖς προτέροις ἦν, ταῦτα πυργοῦνται τε νῦν
 καὶ θαυμάσια ἡλικά⁴ φαίνεται τοῖς διεφθαρμένοις
 ἀγαθὰ, ἀνανδρία καὶ βωμολοχία καὶ κακοήθεια καὶ
 τὸ πανούργως σοφὸν καὶ τὸ πρὸς ἅπαντα⁵ ἱταμόν
 καὶ τὸ μηδενὶ τῶν κρειττόνων εὐπειθές ἃ πολλὰς
 ἤδη πόλεις ἰσχυρὰς λαβόντα ἐκ βάθρων ἀνέτρεψε.
 7 ταῦθ' ὑμῖν, ὦ βουλὴ, εἴτε ἡδέα ἐστὶν ἀκούειν εἴτε

¹ κλέος Reiske, κράτος Kiessling, τρόπαιον Casaubon, θάρσος Post : πάθος O, Jacoby

² Steph · ὑμετέροις AB.

³ Steph ὑμετέρων AB.

were so far from repenting of what they did here that they showed the same unruliness in the field too, throwing away their arms, quitting their posts, abandoning their standards to the enemy and resorting to disgraceful flight before ever coming to grips with them, as if they could rob me alone of the glory of the victory without robbing the fatherland at the same time of the renown it would gain at the expense of its enemies. And now trophies are being erected by the Volscians over the Romans, their temples are being adorned with spoils taken from us and their cities vaunt themselves as never before—those cities which were wont aforetime to beseech our generals to save them from slavery and total destruction. Is it just, then, or becoming in you to feel gratitude to them for such successes and to honour them with public grants by dividing up the land which, so far as they are concerned, is in the enemy's possession? Yet why should we accuse those who because of their lack of education and because of their low birth pay little regard to matters of honour, when we see that no longer in the character of all even of your own number does the ancient proud spirit dwell, but, on the contrary, some call gravity haughtiness, justice folly, courage madness, and modesty stupidity? On the other hand, those qualities that were held in detestation by the men of former times are now extolled and appeal to the corrupt as wonderful virtues, such as cowardice, buffoonery, malignity, crafty wisdom, rashness in undertaking everything and unwillingness to listen to any of one's betters—vices which ere now have laid hold on and utterly overthrown many strong states. These words, senators, whether they

⁴ ἡλίκᾱ B om. R.

⁵ Jacoby πάντα O.

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ἀνιάρá, μετὰ πάσης ἀληθείας καὶ παρρησίας εἴρη-
ται, τοῖς μὲν πεισθησομένοις ὑμῶν, ἔαν ἄρα πεισ-
θῇτε, ἔν τε τῷ παρόντι χρήσιμα καὶ εἰς τὸ μέλλον
ἀσφαλῇ ἐμοὶ δέ, ὃς ὑπὲρ τοῦ κοινῇ¹ συμφέροντος
ιδίας ἀπεχθείας ἀναιροῦμαι, πολλῶν ἐσόμενα κιν-
δύνων αἷτια. προορᾶν γὰρ ἱκανός εἰμι τὰ συμβη-
σόμενα ἐκ λογισμοῦ, καὶ παραδείγματα ποιοῦμαι
τὰλλότρια πάθῃ τῶν ἐμαυτοῦ''

LIV. Ταῦτ' εἰπόντος Ἀππίου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων
ὀλίγου δεῖν πάντων τὴν αὐτὴν γνώμην ἀποφνηνα-
μένων ἢ μὲν βουλὴ διελύετο. οἱ δὲ δήμαρχοι δι'
ὀργῆς ἔχοντες τὴν ἀποτυχίαν ἀπήεσαν καὶ μετὰ
τοῦτ' ἐσκόπουν ὅπως τιμωρήσονται τὸν ἄνδρα
ἔδοξεν οὖν αὐτοῖς πολλὰ βουλευσαμένοις δίκη τὸν
Ἀππίον ὑπαγαγεῖν θάνατον ἐχούσῃ τὸ τίμημα.
καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς κατηγορή-
σαντες παρεκάλουν ἥκειν ἅπαντας εἰς τὴν ἀπο-
δειχθησομένην ἡμέραν ὥς διοίσοντας ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ
2 ψῆφον ἃ δὲ κατηγορεῖν ἔμελλον ταῦτ' ἦν ὅτι
πονηρὰς ἐτίθει κατὰ τοῦ δήμου γνώμας, καὶ στάσιν
εἰσῆγεν εἰς τὴν πόλιν, καὶ δημάρχῳ χεῖρας ἐπ-
ήνεγκε παρὰ τοὺς ἱεροὺς νόμους, καὶ στρατιᾶς
ἡγησάμενος σὺν βλάβῃ τε καὶ αἰσχύνῃ μεγάλη
ἀνέστρεψε ταῦτα προειπόντες ἐν τῷ πλήθει καὶ
ῥητὴν τινα ἀποδείξαντες ἡμέραν ἐν ἣ τέλος ἔφησαν
ἐπιθήσειν τῇ δίκῃ, παρήγγειλαν αὐτῷ παρεῖναι
3 τότε ἀπολογησομένῳ ἀγανακτούντων δ' ἅπαν-
των τῶν πατρικίων καὶ παρεσκευασμένων ἀπάσῃ
προθυμίᾳ σῶζειν τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ τὸν Ἀππίον
παρακαλούντων εἶξαι τῷ καιρῷ καὶ σχῆμα ταῖς
παρούσαις τύχαις ἀρμόττον μεταλαβεῖν, οὐδὲν ἔφη

¹ κοινῇ Bb κοινού ABaC

are pleasing to you to hear or vexatious, have been uttered in all sincerity and frankness. To those among you who will be persuaded—if indeed you will be persuaded—they will prove both useful at the present time and a source of security for the future ; but to me, who in the interest of the public good am bringing private hatreds upon myself, they will be the cause of great dangers. For reason enables me to foresee what will happen, and I take the misfortunes of others as examples of my own ”

LIV After Appius had spoken thus and almost all the others had expressed the same opinion, the senate was dismissed. The tribunes, angry at their failure, departed and after that considered how they might take revenge on the man, and they decided, after long deliberation, to bring him to trial on a capital charge. Then, having accused him before the popular assembly, they asked all to be present on the day they should appoint in order to give their votes concerning him. The charges they planned to bring against him were these—that he had been expressing mischievous opinions against the populace and introducing sedition into the commonwealth, that he had laid hands on a tribune contrary to the sacred laws, and that after taking command of the army he had returned home with great loss and disgrace. After announcing these accusations to the populace and appointing a definite day on which they said they would hold the trial, they summoned him to appear on the day named and make his defence. All the patricians resented this proceeding and were prepared to use every effort to save Appius, and they urged him to yield to the occasion and to assume a bearing suitable to his present fortunes, but he declared

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ποιήσῃν ὁ ἀνὴρ οὐτ' ἀγεννὲς οὔτε τῶν προγεγονό-
των ἔργων ἀνάξιον, μυρίους δ' ἂν ὑπομείναι θανά-
τους πρότερον ἢ γονάτων ἄψασθαί τινος τοὺς τε
ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ δεῖσθαι παρεσκευασμένους διεκώλυεν,
εἰπὼν ὡς διπλασίως ἂν αἰδεσθεῖη ταῦτα ὑπὲρ
αὐτοῦ ποιούντας ἑτέρους ὁρῶν ἃ μὴδ' αὐτὸν¹ ὑπὲρ
4 ἑαυτοῦ πράττειν πρέποντα ἡγείται ταῦτά τε δὴ
καὶ πολλὰ ὅμοια τούτοις λέγων καὶ οὐτ' ἐσθῆτα
ἀλλάξας οὔτε τὸ τῆς ὄψεως γαῦρον ἀλλοιῶσας
οὔτε φρονήματός τι ὑφόμενος, ὡς εἶδεν ὀρθὴν καὶ
μετέωρον ἐπὶ τῇ προσδοκίᾳ τοῦ ἀγῶνος τὴν πόλιν,
ὀλίγων ἔτι λειπομένων ἡμερῶν ἑαυτὸν διεχειρί-
5 σατο² οἱ μὲν δὴ προσήκοντες αὐτῷ νόσον ἐσκήπ-
τοντο γενέσθαι τοῦ θανάτου αἰτίαν προενεχθέντος
δὲ τοῦ σώματος εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν ὁ μὲν υἱὸς αὐτοῦ
προσιὼν τοῖς δημάρχοις καὶ τοῖς ὑπάτοις ἡξίου
τὴν νόμιμον ἐκκλησίαν αὐτῷ συναγαγεῖν καὶ τὸν ἐν
ἔθει Ῥωμαίοις ὄντα ἐπὶ ταῖς ταφαῖς ἀγορεύεσθαι
τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν λόγον ἐπιτρέψαι περὶ τοῦ
6 πατρὸς διελθεῖν οἱ δὲ δήμαρχοι καλουμένης ἔτι
τῆς ἐκκλησίας ὑπὸ τῶν ὑπάτων ἐνίσταντο καὶ
παρηγγέλλον τῷ μειρακίῳ τὸν νεκρὸν ἀποφέρειν
οὐ μὴν ὁ δημὸς γε ἠνέσχετο οὐδὲ περιεΐδε τὴν
ὕβριν, ἄτιμον ἐκβληθῆναι τὸ σῶμα, ἀλλ' ἐπέτρεψε
τῷ μειρακίῳ τὰς νομιζόμενας ἀποδοῦναι τῷ πατρὶ
τιμὰς Ἄππιος μὲν οὖν τοιαύτης τελευτῆς ἔτυχεν
LV Οἱ δ' ὑπατοὶ καταγράψαντες τὰς δυνάμεις
ἐξῆγον ἐκ τῆς πόλεως, Λεύκιος μὲν Οὐαλέριος
Αἰκανοῖς πολεμήσων, Τιβέριος δ' Αἰμίλιος Σαβί-
νοις καὶ γὰρ οὗτοι κατὰ τὸν τῆς στάσεως καιρὸν

¹ αὐτὸν A · om B, αὐτὸς Kiessling

² διεχειρίσατο ABbC διεχρήσατο Reiske, Jacoby

that he would do nothing ignoble or unworthy of his former conduct, and that he would rather die a thousand deaths than cling to the knees of any man. And though his friends were prepared to make entreaties in his behalf, he would not permit it, saying that he would be doubly ashamed to see others doing for him things which he thought unbecoming even for him to do for himself. After he had said this and many other things of like nature and neither changed his dress, altered the haughtiness of his looks nor abated anything of his proud spirit, when now he saw the whole city intent upon his trial and on tiptoe with expectation, and only a few days were left, he made away with himself; his relations, however, pretended that he had died a natural death. When his body was brought into the Forum, his son went to the tribunes and consuls and asked them to assemble the people for him in the manner usual upon such occasions and give him leave to deliver the eulogy over his father according to the practice of the Romans at the funerals of worthy men. But the tribunes, even while the consuls were calling the assembly, vetoed it and bade the youth take away the body. However, the people would not permit this nor allow the body to be cast out in dishonour and ignominy, but gave leave to the youth to render the customary honours to his father. Such was the end of Appius.

LV. The consuls,¹ having enrolled the armies, led them out of the city, Lucius Valerius to fight against the Aequians and Tiberius Aemilius against the Sabines, for these nations had made an incursion

¹ Cf. Livy II 62.

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ἐνέβαλον εἰς τὴν Ῥωμαίων χώραν καὶ πολλὴν αὐτῆς κακώσαντες ἀπῆλθον λείαν ἄφθονον περιβαλλόμενοι. Αἰκανοὶ μὲν οὖν πολλάκις εἰς χεῖρας ἐλθόντες καὶ πολλὰς πληγὰς λαβόντες εἰς τὸν χάρακα ἐν ἐχυρῷ χωρίῳ κείμενον κατέφυγον καὶ
 2 τὸ λοιπὸν οὐκέτι προήεσαν εἰς μάχην ὁ δὲ Οὐαλέριος ἐπεχείρησε μὲν ἐκπολιορκεῖν αὐτῶν τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐκωλύθη δ' ὑπὸ τοῦ δαιμονίου προ-
 ἰόντι γὰρ αὐτῷ καὶ ἤδη ἔργου ἐχομένῳ ζόφος ἐξ οὐρανοῦ γίνεται καὶ ὄμβρος πολὺς, ἀστραπαὶ δὲ καὶ βρονταὶ σκληραὶ διασκεδασθείσης δὲ τῆς στρατιᾶς ὃ τε χειμῶν εὐθὺς ἐπαύσατο καὶ πολλὴ κατέσχε τὸν τόπον αἰθρία τοῦτό τε δὴ τὸ ἔργον ὄττευσάμενος ὁ ὕπατος καὶ τῶν μάντεων κωλυόν-
 των ἔτι¹ πολιορκεῖν τὸ χωρίον, ἀποτραπείς τὴν γῆν αὐτῶν ἐκάκου, καὶ ὅση ἐπέτυχε λεία τοῖς στρατιώ-
 ταις ἅπασαν ὠφελεῖσθαι ἐφείς, ἀπῆγγεν ἐπ' οἴκου
 3 τὴν δύναμιν Τιβερίῳ δ' Αἰμιλίῳ διεξιόντι τὴν πολεμίαν σὺν πολλῇ καταφρονήσει κατ' ἀρχὰς καὶ οὐδὲν ἔτι προσδοκῶντι ἀντίπαλον ἐπῆλθεν ἡ Σαβί-
 νων δύναμις καὶ γίνεται μάχη αὐτῶν ἐκ παρατάξεως μεσοῦσης μάλιστα τῆς ἡμέρας ἀρξαμένη μέχρι δύσεως ἡλίου σκότους δ' ἐπιλαμβάνοντος ἀν-
 εχώρουν αἱ δυνάμεις ἐπὶ τοὺς ἑαυτῶν χάρακας οὔτε
 4 νικῶσαι οὔτε λειπόμεναι ταῖς δ' ἐξῆς ἡμέραις νεκροὺς τε τοὺς ἑαυτῶν ἐκήδευσαν οἱ ἡγεμόνες καὶ χάρακας ἐξωρύξαντο καὶ γνώμας τὰς αὐτὰς εἶχον ἐκάτεροι, διὰ φυλακῆς τὰ οἰκεῖα ἔχειν καὶ μηκέτι ἄρχειν μάχης ἔπειτα σὺν χρόνῳ τὰς σκηνὰς λύσαντες ἀπῆγγον τὰς δυνάμεις

¹ ἔτι Sintenis ὅτι B, om R

BOOK IX. 55, 1-4

into the Romans' country on the occasion of the sedition and after plundering much of it had returned home with rich booty. The Aequians came to an engagement repeatedly, but after receiving many wounds they fled to their camp, which was situated in a strong place, and from that time no longer came out to fight. Valerius endeavoured to take their camp by storm but was prevented by the gods from doing so. For as he was advancing and already setting himself to the task darkness descended from the sky, and a heavy rain, accompanied by lightning and terrible thunder claps. Then, as soon as the army had scattered, the storm ceased and the sky over the place became perfectly clear. The consul looking upon this as an omen and the augurs forbidding him to besiege the place any longer, he desisted and laid waste the enemy's country; then, having yielded as spoils to the soldiers all the booty he came upon, he led the army home. As for Tiberius Aemilius, while he was overrunning the enemy's country with great contempt of them at first and no longer expecting anyone to oppose him, the army of the Sabines came upon him and a pitched battle took place between them, beginning about noon and lasting till sunset; but when darkness came on, the two armies retired to their camps neither victorious nor yet outmatched. During the following days the commanders paid the final offices to their dead and constructed ramparts for their camps, and both of them had the same intention, which was to defend their own positions and not to engage in another action. Then, after a time, they struck their tents and withdrew their forces.

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LVI Ἐν δὲ τῷ μετὰ τούτους τοὺς ὑπάτους ἔτει, κατὰ τὴν ἑβδομηκοστὴν καὶ ὀγδόην ὀλυμπιάδα, ἥν ἐνίκα στάδιον Παρμενίδης Ποσειδωνιάτης, Ἀθήνησι¹ τὴν ἐνιαύσιον ἀρχὴν ἔχοντος Θεαγενίδου, κατεστάθησαν ὑπατοὶ Ῥωμαίων Ἀῦλος Οὐεργίνιος Καίλιμοντανὸς² καὶ Τίτος Νομίκιος Πρίσκος. ἄρτι δ' αὐτῶν τὴν ἀρχὴν παρειληφότων ἀγγέλλεται στρατιὰ Οὐολούσκων πολλὴ παροῦσα. καὶ μετ' οὐ πολὺ τῶν περιπολίων τι τῶν Ῥωμαικῶν ἐξ ἐφόδου³ καταληφθὲν ἐκαίετο ἥν δ' οὐ διὰ μακροῦ τῆς Ῥώμης καὶ ὁ καπνὸς ἤγγελλε τοῖς ἐν τῇ πόλει
2 τὸ πάθος τότε μὲν οὖν, καὶ γὰρ ἦν ἔτι νύξ, ἵππεῖς τινὰς ἀποστείλαντες ἐπὶ κατασκοπὴν οἱ ὑπατοὶ καὶ φυλακὰς καταστήσαντες ἐπὶ τοῖς τείχεσι καὶ αὐτοὶ ταξάμενοι πρὸ τῶν πυλῶν σὺν τοῖς εὐζωνοτάτοις, ἐξεδέχοντο τὰς παρὰ τῶν ἱππέων ἀγγελίας ὥς δ' ἡμέρα τε ἐγένετο καὶ συνήθροιστο αὐτοῖς ἡ ἐν τῇ πόλει δύναμις, ἤγον ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους. οἱ δὲ διαρπάσαντες καὶ κατακαύσαντες τὸ φρούριον ἀπ-
3 ἤεσαν διὰ τάχους τότε μὲν οὖν οἱ ὑπατοὶ σβέσαντες τὰ ἔτι καιόμενα καὶ τοῦ χωρίου φυλακὴν καταλιπόντες ἀπῆεσαν εἰς τὴν πόλιν ὀλίγαις δ' ὕστερον ἡμέραις τὰς τε οἰκείας ἔχοντες δυνάμεις καὶ τὰς παρὰ τῶν συμμάχων ἐξήεσαν ἀμφοτέρω, Οὐεργίνιος μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν Αἰκανῶν, Νομίκιος δ' ἐπὶ τὴν Οὐολούσκων καὶ αὐτοῖς ἀμφοτέροις κατὰ
4 γνώμην τὰ τοῦ πολέμου ἐχώρησεν. Οὐεργινίῳ τε γὰρ Αἰκανοὶ δηοῦντι τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν οὐκ ἐτόλμησαν εἰς χεῖρας ἔλθειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ λόχον τινὰ ὑποκαθίσαντες ἐν ὕλαις ἐπιλέκτων ἀνδρῶν οἱ

¹ ἀθήνησι A ἀθήνησι δὲ R.

² Gelenius · νομεντανὸς O

³ ἐξ ἐφόδου B om R.

BOOK IX. 56, 1-4

LVI. The year following¹ their consulship, in the seventy-eighth Olympiad (the one at which Paemenides of Posidonia won the foot-race), Theagenides being annual archon at Athens, Aulus Verginius Caelimontanus and Titus Numicius Priscus were made consuls. They had no sooner entered upon their magistracy than news was brought that a numerous army of Volscians was at hand. And not long afterwards one of the guard-houses of the Romans was on fire after being taken by assault, it was not far from Rome and the smoke informed the people in the city of the disaster. Thereupon, it being still night, the consuls sent some horsemen out to reconnoitre, and stationing guards upon the walls and posting themselves before the gates with the troops which were most lightly equipped, they waited for the report of the horsemen. Then, as soon as it was day and the forces in the city had joined them, they marched against their foes. These, however, after plundering and burning the fort, had retired in haste. The consuls extinguished what was still burning, and leaving a guard over the place, returned to the city. A few days later they both took the field with not only their own forces but those of the allies as well, Verginius marching against the Aequians and Numicius against the Volscians, and the campaigns of both proceeded according to plan. The Aequians, when Verginius was laying waste their country, not only did not dare come to an engagement, but even when they placed an ambush of chosen men in the woods with

¹ Cf. Livy II. 63. The year was 467 B.C.

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ἔμελλον ἐσκεδασμένοις ἐπιθήσεσθαι τοῖς πολεμί-
οις, διήμαρτον τῆς ἐλπίδος, ταχείας γενομένης τοῖς
Ῥωμαίοις αἰσθήσεως καὶ μάχης καρτερᾶς ἐξ ἧς
πολλοὺς τῶν σφετέρων οἱ Αἰκανοὶ ἀπέβαλον ὥστε
5 οὐδ' εἰς πείραν ἑτέρας μάχης ἔτ' ἦρχοντο Νο-
μικίῳ τ' ἄγοντι τὴν στρατιὰν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀντιατῶν
πόλιν, ἣ ἐν ταῖς πρώταις τότε τῶν Οὐολούσκων
πόλεσιν ἦν, οὐδεμία ἡναντιώθη δύναμις, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ
τῶν τειχῶν ἡναγκάζοντο ἑκάστοτ' ¹ ἀμύνεσθαι. ἐν
δὲ τούτῳ ἦ τε γῇ αὐτῶν ἡ πολλὴ ἐτμήθη, καὶ
πολίχνη τις ἐπιθαλάττιος ἐάλω ² ἥ ἐπινείῳ τε καὶ
ἄγορᾳ τῶν εἰς τὸν βίον ἀναγκαίων ἐχρῶντο, ἐκ
θαλάττης τε καὶ διὰ ληστηρίων τὰς πολλὰς ἐπαγό-
μενοι ὠφελείας. ἀνδράποδα μὲν οὖν καὶ χρήματα
καὶ βοσκήματα καὶ τοὺς ἐμπορικοὺς φόρτους ἡ
στρατιὰ συγχωρήσει τοῦ ὑπάτου διήρπασε, τὰ
δ' ἐλεύθερα σώματα ὅποσα μὴ ὁ πόλεμος ἔφθη
διειργασμένος ἐπὶ τὸ λαφυροπώλιον ἀπήχθη ἐλήφ-
θησαν δὲ καὶ νῆες τῶν Ἀντιατῶν εἴκοσι καὶ δύο
μακραὶ καὶ ἄλλα ³ νεῶν ὄπλα τε καὶ παρασκευαί.
6 μετὰ ταῦτα κελεύσαντος τοῦ ὑπάτου τὰς τε οἰκίας
ἐνεπίμπρασαν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ τοὺς νεωσοίκους
κατέσκαπτον καὶ τὸ τεῖχος ἤρειπον ἐκ θεμελίων,
ὥστε μηδ' ἀπελθόντων σφῶν χρηστὸν ἔτι τοῖς
Ἀντιάταις εἶναι τὸ φρούριον ταῦτά τε δὴ ἐπράχθη
χωρὶς ἐκατέρῳ τῶν ὑπάτων, καὶ ἀμφοτέροις ἔτι
κοινὴ στρατεία τοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἐπὶ τὴν Σαβίνων γῆν,
ἣν δηρώσαντες ἀπῆγον ἐπ' οἴκου τὴν δύναμιν καὶ
ὁ ἐνιαυτὸς οὗτος ἐτελεύτα.

¹ Post · ἑκαστοι O, ἐκεῖνον Hertlein

² ἐάλω Cmg om. ABC

³ ἄλλων Enthoven

BOOK IX 56, 4-6

orders to fall upon their enemies when they were scattered, they were disappointed of their hopes, inasmuch as the Romans soon became aware of their design and a sharp action ensued, in which the Aequians lost many of their men, the result was that they would no longer even try the fortune of another engagement. Neither did any army oppose Numicius as he was marching on Antium, which was at that time among the foremost cities of the Volscians, but the people were forced in every instance to defend themselves from their walls. In the meantime not only was the greater part of their country laid waste, but also a small town on the coast was taken which they used as a station for their ships and a market for the necessities of life, bringing thither the many spoils they took both from the sea and by raids on land. The slaves, goods, cattle and merchandise were seized as plunder by the army with the consul's permission, but all the free men who had not lost their lives in the war were taken away to be sold at an auction of spoils. There were also captured twenty-two warships belonging to the Antiates together with rigging and equipment for ships besides. After that at the consul's command the Romans set fire to the houses, destroyed the docks and demolished the wall to its foundations, so that even after their departure the fortress could be of no use to the Antiates. These were the exploits of the two consuls while they acted separately. They afterwards joined forces and made an incursion into the territory of the Sabines; and having laid it waste, they returned home with the army. Thus that year ended.

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- LVII. Τῷ δ' ἐξῆς ἔτει Τίτου¹ Κοιντίου Καπιτωλίνου² καὶ Κοίντου Σερουιλίου Πρίσκου τὴν ὑπατον ἀρχὴν παρειληφόντων ἣ τε οἰκεία δύναμις Ῥωμαίων ἅπαντα ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις ἦν καὶ τὰ συμμαχικὰ ἐκούσια παρῆν πρὶν ἐπαγγελθῆναι αὐτοῖς στρατιάν³ καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο εὐχάς τε ποιησάμενοι τοῖς θεοῖς οἱ ὑπατοι καὶ καθήραντες τὸν στρατὸν ἐξήρσαν ἐπὶ² τοὺς πολεμίους Σαβῖνοι μὲν οὖν, ἐφ' οὓς ὁ Σερουίλιος ἤλασεν, οὗτ' εἰς μάχην κατέστησαν οὗτ' ἐξῆλθον εἰς τὴν ὑπαιθρον, μένοντες δ' ἐν τοῖς φρουρίοις ἠνείχοντο γῆς τε αὐτοῖς τεμνομένης⁴ καὶ οἰκιῶν ἐμπιμπραμένων θεραπείας τε αὐτομολούσης ὥστε κατὰ πολλὴν εὐπέτειαν ἀπελθεῖν ἐκ τῆς χώρας αὐτῶν τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ὠφελεῖαις τε βαρεῖς καὶ αὐχήμασι λαμπροὺς καὶ ἡ μὲν Σερουιλίου στρατεία τοῦτ' ἔσχε τὸ τέλος.
- ³ Οἱ δὲ σὺν τῷ Κοιντίῳ στρατεύσαντες ἐπὶ τ' Αἰκανοὺς καὶ Οὐολούσκους (συνεληλύθεσαν γὰρ εἰς τὸν αὐτὸν τόπον ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων τῶν ἐθνῶν οἱ προαγωνιούμενοι τῶν ἄλλων καὶ πρὸ τῆς Ἀντιατῶν πόλεως ἀντεστρατοπεδεύσαντο) θάπτον ἢ βάδην χωροῦντες ἐπιφαίνονται αὐτοῖς καὶ οὐ πολὺν τόπον τοῦ χάρακος αὐτῶν ἀποσχόντες, ἐν ᾧ πρῶτον ὥφθησάν τε καὶ εἶδον ἐκείνους χωρίῳ ταπεινῷ ὄντι τὰς ἀποσκευὰς ἔθεντο, τοῦ μὴ δεδοικέναι τὰ πολέμια πληθῆι μακρῷ προὔχοντα δόξαν ποιήσαι
- ⁴ βουλόμενοι ὥς δ' εὐτρεπῆ τὰ εἰς μάχην ἑκατέροις ἅπαντα ἦν, ἐξήρσαν εἰς τὸ πεδῖον καὶ συμπεσόντες ἡγωνίζοντο μέχρι μεσοῦσης ἡμέρας, οὕτε εἶκοντες

¹ Τίτου added by Sylburg

² Καπιτωλίνου Cary, Καπετωλίνου Sylburg, Jacoby καπετωλίου O

BOOK IX, 57, 1-4

LVII The next year,¹ when Titus Quinctius Capitolinus and Quintus Servilius Pisciſcus had ſucceeded to the conſulſhip, not only were the Romans' forces all under arms, but the allied contingents as well preſented themſelves of their own accord before they were notified of the expedition Thereupon the conſuls, after they had offered up their vows to the gods and performed the luſtration of the army, ſet out againſt their enemies The Sabines, againſt whom Servilius marched, neither drew up for battle nor came out into the open, but remaining in their fortreſſes, permitted their land to be laid waſte, their houſes to be burned and their ſlaves to deſert, ſo that the Romans retired from their country entirely at their eaſe, loaded down with ſpoils and exulting in their ſucceſs This was the outcome of the expedition led by Servilius.

The forces which had marched under Quinctius againſt the Aequians and the Volſcians—for the contingents from both nations who were to fight in behalf of the reſt had joined together and had encamped before Antium—advancing at a quick pace, ſuddenly appeared before them and ſet down their baggage not far from the enemy's camp in the place where they had firſt been viſible to each other, even though it was a low poſition, for they wiſhed to avoid the appearance of fearing the enemy's numbers, which were much larger than their own When every thing was ready for battle on both ſides, they advanced into the plain, and engaging, fought till midday, neither yielding to nor charging their

¹ For chaps. 57 f cf Livy ii 64 f

³ στρατιάν Ο (cf ch 59 ad fin) . στρατείαν Sylburg, Jacoby

⁴ Cobet . ἐκτεμνομένης Ο.

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τοῖς πολεμίοις οὔτε ἐπιβαίνοντες, αἰεί τε τὸ κάμνον μέρος ἀνισοῦντες τοῖς ἐπὶ ταῖς ἐφεδρείαις¹ τεταγμένοις ἐκάτεροι. ἐν δὲ τούτῳ μάλιστα οἱ Αἰκανοὶ καὶ Οὐολοῦσκοι πλήθει τῶν Ῥωμαίων προὔχοντες ἀνέφερον καὶ περιῆσαν, τῶν πολεμίων οὐκ ἐχόντων 5 ἴσον τῇ προθυμίᾳ τὸ πλήθος. ὁ δὲ Κοῖντιος ὁρῶν νεκρούς τε πολλοὺς τῶν σφετέρων καὶ τῶν περιόντων τοὺς πλείους τραυματίας ἐμέλλησε μὲν ἀνακαλεῖσθαι τὴν δύναμιν, δείσας δὲ μὴ δόξαν παράσχη τοῖς πολεμίοις φυγῆς, παρακινδυνευτέον σφίσιν εἶναι ἔγνω ἐπιλεξάμενος δὲ τῶν ἱππέων τοὺς κρατίστους κατὰ τὸ δεξιόν, ὃ μάλιστα ἔκαμνε,² 6 τοῖς σφετέροις παρεβोधῆται καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐπιτιμῶν τοῖς ἡγεμόσιν αὐτοῖς τῆς ἀνανδρίας, τὰ ὑπομιμνήσκων τῶν προτέρων ἀγώνων, τὰ δὲ τὴν αἰσχύνην ἐπιλεγόμενος καὶ τὸν κίνδυνον ὃς καταλήψεσθαι αὐτοὺς ἔμελλεν ἐν τῇ φυγῇ, τελευτῶν εἶπέ τι³ οὐκ ἀληθές,⁴ ὃ μάλιστα μὲν τοῖς σφετέροις θάρσος παρέστησε, τοῖς δὲ πολεμίοις δέος ἔφη γὰρ ὅτι θάτερον αὐτῶν ἤδη κέρας ἐξέωσε τοὺς πολέμιους 7 καὶ ἐγγὺς ἤδη ἐστὶ τοῦ ἐκείνων χάρακος. ταῦτ' εἰπὼν ἐνσεῖει τοῖς πολεμίοις, καὶ καταβάς ἀπὸ τοῦ ἵππου σὺν τοῖς ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἐπιλέκτοισι τῶν ἱππέων συστάδην ἐμάχετο ἐκ δὲ τούτου τόλμα τις ἐμπίπτει τοῖς κάμνουσι τέως, καὶ ὠθοῦνται ἅπαντες ὥσπερ ἕτεροὶ τινες γεγονότες καὶ οἱ Οὐολοῦσκοι, τῇδε γὰρ ἐκείνοι ἐτάξαντο, μέχρι πολλοῦ διακατερήσαντες ἐνέκλιναν ὥς δὲ τούτους ὁ Κοῖντιος ἀπεώσατο, ἀναβάς ἐπὶ τὸν ἵππον παρήλαυνεν ἐπὶ

¹ τοῖς ἐπὶ ταῖς ἐφεδρείαις A τοῖς σφετέροις B

² ὃ μάλιστα ἔκαμνε Ba, Sylburg ὃ μ ἔκαμνον R.

³ εἶπέ τι Cary . εἶπεν O, Jacoby

BOOK IX. 57, 4-7

opponents, and both sides continually bringing up to equal strength with the enemy, by means of the troops held in reserve, any part of their line that was in distress. In this respect particularly the Aequians and Volscians, being more numerous than the Romans, rallied and had the advantage, since their foes' numbers were not equal to their ardour. Quintius, seeing many of his men dead and the greater part of the survivors wounded, was on the point of recalling his forces, but fearing that this would give the enemy the impression of a flight, he decided that they must make a bold stroke. Choosing, therefore, the best of his horse, he hastened to the aid of his men on the right wing, which was hardest pressed. And upbraiding the officers themselves for their want of courage, reminding them of their former exploits, and showing them to what shame and danger they would be exposed in fleeing, he ended with an untruth, which more than anything else inspired his own men with confidence and the enemy with fear. For he told them that their other wing had already put the enemy to flight and was by now close to their camp. Having said this, he charged the enemy, and dismounting from his horse, he and the chosen horsemen with him fought hand to hand. Upon this a kind of daring came to those whose spirits till then had flagged, and as if they had become different men, all pressed forward, and the Volscians—for these stood opposite to them—after holding out for a long time, gave way. Quintius, having repulsed these opponents, mounted his horse

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τὴν ἑτέραν τάξιν, καὶ ἐδείκνυε τοῖς ἐκεῖ πεζοῖς τὸ ἡττώμενον τῶν πολεμίων μέρος καὶ παρεκελεύετο μὴ λείπεσθαι ἀρετῇ τῶν ἐτέρων.

LVIII Καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο οὐδὲν ἔτι διέμενε τῶν πολεμίων, ἀλλὰ πάντες εἰς τὸν χάρακα ξυνέφευγον οὐ μέντοι διώξεις γε αὐτῶν ἐπὶ πολὺ ἐγένετο, ἀλλ' εὐθὺς οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι ἀπετράποντο, ὑπὸ κόπου τὰ σώματα παρειμένοι καὶ οὐδὲ τὰ ὄπλα ἔτι ὅμοια ἔχοντες ὀλίγων δὲ διελθουσῶν ἡμερῶν, ὥς ἐσπείσαντο ταφῆς τε τῶν οἰκείων νεκρῶν¹ καὶ θεραπείας τῶν κεκμηκότων ἕνεκα, παρεσκευασμένοι τὰ εἰς τὸν πόλεμον ἐλλείποντα, ἑτέραν ἡγωνίσαντο μάχην
² περὶ τῷ Ῥωμαίων χάρακι προσελθούσης γὰρ ἄλλης δυνάμεως τοῖς Οὐολούσκοις τε καὶ Αἰκανοῖς ἐκ τῶν πέριξ χωρίων οὐ διὰ μακροῦ ὄντων, ἐπαρθεῖς ὁ στρατηγὸς αὐτῶν ὅτι καὶ πενταπλάσιοι τῶν πολεμίων ἦσαν οἱ σφέτεροι, τὴν τε παρεμβολὴν τῶν Ῥωμαίων οὐκ ἐν ἐχυρῷ οὖσαν ὁρῶν, κράτιστον ὑπέλαβεν εἶναι καιρὸν ἐπιχειρεῖν αὐτοῖς ἐνθυμηθεῖς δὲ ταῦτα περὶ μέσας νύκτας ἦγε τὴν δύναμιν ἐπὶ τὸν χάρακα τῶν Ῥωμαίων, καὶ κύκλῳ περι-
³ στήσας ἐφρούρει, μὴ λάθοιεν ἀπιόντες ὁ δὲ Κοίντιος, ὥς ἔμαθε τῶν πολεμίων τὸ πλήθος, ἀγαπητῶς ἐδέξατο καὶ περιμείνας ἕως ἡμέρα τε ἐγένετο καὶ ὥρα πληθουσίας μάλιστα ἀγορᾶς, κάμνοντας ἤδη τοὺς πολεμίους αἰσθόμενος ὑπὸ τε ἀγρυπνίας καὶ ἀκροβολισμῶν καὶ οὐ κατὰ λόχους οὐδὲ ἐν τάξει προσάγοντας ἀλλὰ πολλαχῇ κεχυμένους καὶ σποράδας, ἀνοίξας τὰς πύλας τοῦ χάρακος ἐξέδραμεν ἅμα τοῖς ἐπιλέκτοις τῶν ἱππέων καὶ οἱ πεζοὶ πυκνώσαντες τοὺς λόχους ἤκο-

¹ νεκρῶν B : om. R

and, riding along to the other wing, showed to the foot posted there the part of the enemy which was defeated, and exhorted them not to be behind the others in valour

LVIII After this no part of the enemy stood their ground but all fled together to their camp. The Romans, however, did not pursue them far, but promptly turned back, as their bodies were spent with toil and their weapons no longer what they had been. But after a few days had passed, for which they had made a truce in order to bury their dead and care for their sick, and they had supplied themselves with whatever was lacking for the war, they fought another battle, this time about the camp of the Romans. For, reinforcements having come to the Volscians and Aequians from the neighbouring forts round about, their general grew elated because his forces were actually five times as large as those of the enemy, and observing that the Romans' camp was not strongly situated, he thought this was a most excellent opportunity for attacking them. Having so reasoned, he led his army to their camp about midnight, and surrounding it with his men, kept it under guard so that the Romans should not steal away. Quintius, upon being informed of the numbers of the enemy, welcomed this move and bided his time till it was day and about the hour of full market. Then, perceiving that the enemy were already suffering both from lack of sleep and from the skirmishing and that they were advancing neither by centuries nor by ranks but widely extended and scattered, he opened the gates of the camp and sallied out with the flower of the horse; and the foot, closing their ranks,

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4 λούθουν. οἱ δὲ Οὐολοῦσκοι καταπλαγέντες αὐτῶν
 τὸ θράσος καὶ τὸ μανικὸν τῆς ἐφόδου βραχὺν ἀνα-
 σχόμενοι χρόνον ἀνακροῦνται¹ τε καὶ ἅμα² ὑπο-
 χωροῦσιν ἀπὸ τοῦ χάρακος· καί, ἣν γάρ τις οὐ
 πρόσω τοῦ στρατοπέδου λόφος ὑψηλὸς ἐπικεικῶς,
 εἰς τοῦτον οὖν ἀνατρέχουσιν ὡς ἀναπαυσόμενοί τε
 καὶ αὖθις³ εἰς τάξιν καταστησόμενοι ἄλλ' οὐ
 γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἐξεγένετο καταστήναί τε⁴ καὶ ἑαυτοὺς
 ἀναλαβεῖν, ἀλλ' ἐκ ποδὸς ἠκολούθησαν αὐτοῖς οἱ
 πολέμιοι πιλήσαντες ὡς μάλιστα ἦν δυνατόν τοὺς
 λόχους ἵνα μὴ καταραχθῶσι πρὸς ἄναντες χωρίον
 5 βιαζόμενοι. καὶ γίνεται μέγας ἀγὼν ἐπὶ πολὺ
 μέρος τῆς ἡμέρας, νεκροὶ τε πίπτουσι πολλοὶ ἀφ'
 ἑκατέρων καὶ Οὐολοῦσκοι πλήθει τε ὑπερέχοντες
 καὶ τὸ ἐκ τοῦ τόπου προσειληφότες ἀσφαλές, οὐδε-
 τέρου τούτων οὐδὲν ἀγαθὸν ἀπήλαυσαν, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ
 τῆς Ῥωμαίων προθυμίας καὶ ἀρετῆς ἐκβιασθέντες
 τὸν τε λόφον ἐξέλιπον καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν χάρακα φεύ-
 6 γοντες οἱ πολλοὶ ἀπέθνησκον οὐ γὰρ εἶασαν⁵
 αὐτοὺς οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι διώκοντες ἀλλ' ἐκ ποδὸς
 ἠκολούθησαν καὶ οὐ πρότερον ἀπετράποντο ἢ τὴν
 παρεμβολὴν αὐτῶν ἐλεῖν κατὰ κράτος γενόμενοι
 δὲ σωμάτων τ'⁶ ἐγκρατεῖς⁷ ὅσα ἐγκατελείφθη⁸ ἐν⁹
 τῷ χάρακι καὶ ἵππων καὶ ὄπλων καὶ χρημάτων
 παμπόλλων κύριοι, τὴν μὲν νύκτα ἐκείνην αὐτόθι
 κατεστρατοπέδευσαν, τῇ δ' ἐπιούσῃ ἡμέρᾳ τὰ εἰς
 πολιορκίαν ἐπιτήδεια παρεσκευασμένος ὁ ὕπατος
 ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀντιατῶν πόλιν οὐ πλείω ἀπέχουσιν
 7 τριάκοντα σταδίων ἦγε τὴν δύναμιν ἔτυχον δὲ
 φυλακῆς ἕνεκα τοῖς Ἀντιάταις Αἰκανῶν τινες ἐπί-

¹ τε R om B

³ καὶ αὖθις Hertlein αὖθις καὶ O.

² ἅμα R om. B

⁴ τε B om. R.

followed The Volscians were astonished at their boldness and at the madness of their onset and, after holding out for a brief time, were repulsed and at the same time began to retire from the camp, and, as there stood not far from it a hill of moderate height, they hastened up this hill with the intention of both resting themselves and forming in line of battle again. But they were unable to form their lines and to recover themselves, for the enemy followed at their heels, closing their ranks as much as possible in order not to be hurled back while trying to force their way up-hill. There followed a mighty struggle which lasted a large part of the day, and many fell on both sides. The Volscians, though superior in numbers and having the added security of their position, got no benefit from either circumstance, but being forced from their position by the ardour and bravery of the Romans, they abandoned the hill and while fleeing toward their camp the greater part of them were killed. For the Romans never left them as they pursued, but followed at their heels and did not desist till they had taken their camp by storm. Then, having seized all the persons who had been left behind in the camp and taken possession of the horses and arms and huge quantities of baggage, they encamped there that night. The next day the consul, having prepared everything that was necessary for a siege, marched with his army to Antium, which was not more than thirty stades distant. It chanced that some reinforcements sent by the Aequians to the

⁵ εἶασαν O ἀνέεσαν Smit

⁶ τ' om A.

⁷ ἐγκρατεῖς Post ἐγκρατεῖς καὶ R, Jacoby, om B

⁸ ἐγκατελείφθη R · ἐγκατελήφθη Ba

⁹ ἐν Capps om O, Jacoby

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κουροι παρόντες καὶ φυλάττοντες τὰ τεῖχη οἱ τότε
 δέισαντες τὸ Ῥωμαίων τολμηρὸν δρασμὸν ἐκ τῆς
 πόλεως ἐπεχείρουν ποιεῖσθαι. γενομένης δὲ τοῖς
 Ἀντιάταις γνώσεως κωλυόμενοι πρὸς αὐτῶν ἀπ-
 ιέναι γνώμην ἐποιοῦντο παραδοῦναι Ῥωμαίοις
 8 ἐπιούσι τὴν πόλιν τοῦτο μαθόντες ἐκ μηνύσεως
 οἱ Ἀντιάται τῷ τε καιρῷ εἵκουσι, καὶ κοινῇ μετ'
 ἐκείνων βουλευσάμενοι παραδιδόασιν τῷ Κοιντίῳ
 τὴν πόλιν ἐφ' ᾧ Αἰκανοὺς μὲν ὑποσπόνδους ἀπ-
 ελθεῖν, Ἀντιάτας δὲ φρουρὰν δέξασθαι καὶ τὰ
 κελεύόμενα ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ποιεῖν ἐπὶ τούτοις
 κύριος γενόμενος τῆς πόλεως ὁ ὕπατος καὶ λαβὼν
 ὀψώνιά τε καὶ τὰλλα ὅσων ἔδει τῇ στρατιᾷ καὶ
 φρουρὰν ἐγκαταστήσας, ἀπῆγε τὴν δύναμιν ἀνθ'
 ὧν αὐτὸν ἡ βουλὴ ὑπαντήσῃ τε φιλανθρωπῶς
 ἐδέξατο καὶ θριάμβου πομπῇ ἐτίμησεν

LIX Ἐν δὲ τῷ μετὰ τούτους ἔτει ὕπατοι μὲν
 ἦσαν Τιβέριος Αἰμίλιος τὸ δεύτερον καὶ Κόιντος
 Φάβιος, ἐνὸς τῶν τριῶν ἀδελφῶν υἱὸς τῶν ἡγησα-
 μένων τε τῆς ἀποσταλείσης φρουρᾶς εἰς Κρεμέραν¹
 καὶ διαφθαρέντων ἐκεῖ σὺν τοῖς πελάταις ἡ δὲ
 βουλὴ, τῶν δημάρχων ἀνακινούντων πάλιν τὸ πλη-
 θος ἐπὶ τῇ κληρουχίᾳ καὶ συναγωνιζομένου θατέρου
 τῶν ὑπάτων αὐτοῖς Αἰμιλίου, δόγμα ἐπεκύρωσε,
 θεραπεῦσαι τε καὶ ἀναλαβεῖν τοὺς πένητας βουλο-
 μένη, διανεῖμαί τινα μοῖραν αὐτοῖς ἐκ τῆς Ἀντια-
 τῶν χώρας ἣν τῷ προτέρῳ ἔτει δόρατι ἐλόντες
 2 κατέσχον καὶ ἀπεδείχθησαν ἡγεμόνες τῆς κληρ-
 ουχίας Τίτος Κοίντιος Καπιτωλῖνος, ᾧ παρέδοσαν

¹ Portus κρέμερα ABC.

Antiates for their protection were in the city and were guarding the walls. These men, dreading the boldness of the Romans, were now attempting to escape from the city, but being prevented from leaving by the Antiates, who had notice of their intention, they resolved to deliver up the city to the Romans when they should attack it. The Antiates, being informed of this, yielded to the situation, and concerting measures with the Aequians, surrendered the city to Quintus upon the terms that the Aequians should have leave to depart under a truce and that the Antiates should receive a garrison and obey the commands of the Romans. The consul, having made himself master of the city upon these terms and having received provisions and everything that was needed for the army, placed a garrison there and then led his forces home. In consideration of his success the senate came out to meet him, gave him a cordial welcome and honoured him with a triumph.

LIX The following year¹ the consuls were Tiberius Aemilius (for the second time) and Quintus Fabius, the son of one of the three brothers who had commanded the garrison that was sent out to Cremera and had perished there together with their clients.² As the tribunes, supported by Aemilius, one of the consuls, were again stirring up the populace over the land-allotment, the senate, wishing both to court and to relieve the poor, passed a decree to divide among them a certain part of the territory of the Antiates which they had taken by the sword the year before and now held. Those appointed as leaders in the allotting of the land were Titus Quintus Capitolinus,

¹ Cf. Livy III. 1

² See IV. 15 ff

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Ἀντιᾶται σφᾶς αὐτοὺς, καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ Λεύκιος Φούριος καὶ Αὔλος Οὐεργίνιος ἦν δ' οὐκ ἀγαπῶσι¹ τοῖς πολλοῖς καὶ πένησι Ῥωμαίων ἢ διανομῇ τῆς χώρας ὡς ἀπελαυνομένοις τῆς πατρίδος, ὀλίγων τε ἀπογραφασμένων ἔδοξε τῇ βουλῇ, ἐπειδὴ οὐκ ἀξιόχρεως ἦν ὁ ἀπόστολος, ἐπιτρέψαι Λατίνων τε καὶ Ἑρνίκων τοῖς βουλομένοις τῆς ἀποικίας μετέχειν οἱ μὲν δὲ εἰς Ἄντιον ἀποσταλέντες κατένεμον τὴν γῆν τοῖς σφετέροις, μοῖραν τινα ἐξ αὐτῆς τοῖς Ἀντιᾶταις ὑπολειπόμενοι

- 3 Ἐν δὲ τῷ μεταξὺ χρόνῳ στρατεία τῶν ὑπάτων ἀμφοτέρων ἐγένετο, Αἰμιλίου μὲν εἰς τὴν Σαβίνων χώραν, Φαβίου δ' εἰς τὴν Αἰκανῶν. καὶ τῷ μὲν Αἰμιλίῳ πολὺν ἐν τῇ πολεμίᾳ μείναντι χρόνον οὐδεμία δύναμις ὑπήντησε μαχουμένη περὶ τῆς γῆς, ἀλλ' ἀδεῶς αὐτὴν κείρας, ἐπειδὴ καθῆκεν ὁ χρόνος τῶν ἀρχαιρεσιῶν, ἀπῆγε τὰς δυνάμεις Φαβίῳ δ' Αἰκανοί, πρὶν εἰς ἀνάγκην ἐλθεῖν στρατιᾶς διαφθαρείσης ἢ τειχῶν ἀλισκομένων, ἐπεκηρυκεύσαντο
- 4 περὶ διαλλαγῶν καὶ φιλίας ὁ δ' ὕπατος δύο τε μηνῶν τροφὰς τῇ στρατιᾷ καὶ δύο χιτῶνας κατ' ἄνδρα καὶ ἀργύριον εἰς ὀψωνιασμόν ἑξαμήνου καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο κατήπειγεν εἰσπραξάμενος, ἀνοχὰς ἐποίησατο πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἕως ἂν εἰς Ῥώμην ἀφικόμενοι παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς εὕρωνται τὰς διαλύσεις ἢ μέντοι βουλὴ ταῦτα μαθοῦσα τῷ Φαβίῳ ἐπέτρεψεν αὐτοκράτορι διαλύσασθαι πρὸς τοὺς Αἰκανοὺς ἐφ'
- 5 οἷς ἂν αὐτὸς προαιρῇται μετὰ τοῦτο συνθῆκαι γίνονται ταῖς πόλεσι μεσιτεύσαντος αὐτὰς τοῦ

¹ οὐκ ἀγαπῶσι Kiessling, οὐκ ἄγαν ἀσπαστὴ Reiske, οὐκ ἀσμένους ἀκούσασι Kayser, οὐκ ἀγώνισμα πᾶσι Jacoby οὐκ ἄγων πᾶσιν ἀλλὰ Α, οὐκ ἄγων πᾶσι (or ᾧσι) B

BOOK IX. 59, 2-5

to whom the Antiates had surrendered themselves, together with Lucius Furius and Aulus Verginius. But the masses and the poor among the Romans were dissatisfied with the proposed assignment of land, feeling that they were being banished from the fatherland¹, and when few gave in their names, the senate resolved, since the list of colonists was insufficient, to permit such of the Latins and Hernicans as so desired to join the colony. The triumvirs, accordingly, who were sent to Antium divided the land among their people, leaving a certain part of it to the Antiates.

Meanwhile both consuls took the field, Aemilius marching into the country of the Sabines and Fabius into that of the Aequians. Aemilius, though he remained a long time in the enemy's country, encountered no army ready to fight for it, but ravaged it with impunity; then, when the time for the elections was at hand, he led his forces home. To Fabius the Aequians, even before they were compelled to do so by the destruction of their army or the capture of their walls, sent heralds to sue for a reconciliation and friendship. The consul, after exacting from them two months' provisions for his army, two tunics for every man and six months' pay, and whatever else was urgently required, concluded a truce with them till they should go to Rome and obtain the terms of peace from the senate. The senate, however, when informed of this, gave Fabius full power to make peace with the Aequians upon such terms as he himself should elect. After that the two nations by the mediation of the consul made a

¹ The majority preferred, as Livy says, to get land at Rome.

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ὑπάτου τοιαῖδε Αἰκανοὺς εἶναι Ῥωμαίων ὑπηκόους πόλεις τε καὶ χώρας τὰς ἑαυτῶν ἔχοντας, ἀποστέλλειν δὲ Ῥωμαίοις μηδὲν ὅτι μὴ στρατιάν, ὅταν αὐτοῖς παραγγελῇ,¹ τέλεσι τοῖς ἰδίοις ἐκπέμποντας² ταῦτα συνθέμενος ἀπῆγε τὴν δύναμιν Φάβιος καὶ εἰς τὸν ἐπιόντα ἐνιαυτὸν ἀρχὰς ἅμα τῷ συννύπτῳ κατέστησεν

LX Ἦσαν δ' ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἀποδειχθέντες ὕπατοι Σπόριος Ποστόμιος Ἀλβῖνος³ καὶ Κόιντος Σερουῖλιος Πρίσκος τὸ δεύτερον ἐπὶ τούτων ἔδοξαν Αἰκανοὶ παραβαίνειν τὰς πρὸς Ῥωμαίους νεωστὶ² γενομένας ὁμολογίας ἀπὸ τοιαύτης αἰτίας Ἀντιατῶν ὅσοι μὲν εἶχον ἐφέστια καὶ κλήρους ἔμειναν ἐν τῇ γῇ, τὰ τε ἀπομερισθέντα σφίσι καὶ τὰ ὑπὸ τῶν κληρούχων ἀφορισθέντα κτήματα γεωργοῦντες ἐπὶ ῥηταῖς τισι καὶ τεταγμέναις μοίραις ἅς ἐκ τῶν καρπῶν αὐτοῖς ἐτέλουν οἷς δ' οὐδὲν τούτων ἦν ἐξέλιπον τὴν πόλιν, καὶ ὑποδεχομένων αὐτοὺς προθύμως τῶν Αἰκανῶν ἐκεῖθεν ὀρμώμενοι τοὺς Λατίνων ἀγροὺς ἐλήστευον ἐκ δὲ τούτου καὶ τῶν Αἰκανῶν ὅσοι τολμηροὶ τε καὶ ἄποροι ἦσαν συν-³ελάμβανον αὐτοῖς τῶν ληστηρίων ταῦτα Λατίνων ἀποδυρομένων ἐπὶ τῆς βουλῆς καὶ ἀξιούντων ἢ στρατιάν πέμπειν ἢ συγχωρῆσαι⁴ σφίσιν αὐτοῖς τοὺς ἄρξαντας πολέμου ἀμύνασθαι, μαθόντες οἱ σύνεδροι στρατιάν μὲν οὐτ' αὐτοὶ ἐψηφίσαντο πέμπειν οὔτε Λατίνοις ἐπέτρεψαν ἐξάγειν, πρεσβευτὰς δ' ἐλόμενοι⁵ τρεῖς, ὧν ἡγεῖτο Κόιντος Φάβιος ὁ τὰς

¹ Jacoby . παραγγέλλη Bb, παραγγέλλη A, παραγγελθῇ Sylburg ² αὐτὰς ἀφεῖ ἐκπέμποντας deleted by Kiessling

³ Iapuz, Sigonius λαουίνιος AC, λαβίνιος B.

⁴ συγχωρῆσαι B · συγχωρήσειν R

treaty as follows · the Aequians were to be subject to the Romans while still possessing their cities and lands, and were not to send anything to the Romans except troops, when so ordered, these to be maintained at their own expense Fabius, having made this treaty, returned home with his army and together with his fellow consul nominated magistrates for the following year

LX. The consuls¹ named by them were Spurius Postumius Albinus and Quintus Servilius Priscus, the latter for the second time In their consulship the Aequians were held to be violating the agreements lately made with the Romans, and this for the following reason All the Antiates who possessed homes and allotments of land remained in the country cultivating not only the lands assigned to them but also those which had been taken from them by the colonists,² tilling the latter on the basis of certain fixed shares which they paid to the colonists out of the produce But those who had no such possessions left the city, and being heartily welcomed by the Aequians, were using their country as a base from which to ravage the fields of the Latins As a consequence, such of the Aequians too as were bold and needy joined with them in their raids When the Latins complained before the senate of their situation and asked them either to send an army to their relief or to permit them to take vengeance themselves on those who had begun the war, the senators, on hearing their complaint, neither voted to send an army themselves nor permitted the Latins to lead out theirs, but choosing three ambassadors, of whom Quintus

¹ Cf Livy III 2, 1.

² See chap. 59, 1 f

⁵ ἐλόμενοι ὁ ἔπεμψαν Portus, ἀπέστειλαν Kiessling

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πρὸς τὸ ἔθνος συνθήκας ποιησάμενος, ἔπεμψαν¹
 ἐντολὰς αὐτοῖς δόντες πυνθάνεσθαι παρὰ τῶν ἡγου-
 μένων τοῦ ἔθνους πότερα κοινῇ γνώμῃ τὰ ληστήρια
 ἐξαποστέλλουσιν εἰς τε τὴν τῶν συμμάχων καὶ εἰς²
 τὴν τῶν Ῥωμαίων γῆν (ἐγένοντο γάρ τινες καὶ εἰς
 αὐτὴν καταδρομαὶ τῶν φυγάδων) ἢ τῶν πραττο-
 μένων οὐδενός ἐστι τὸ κοινὸν αἴτιον καὶ ἐὰν φῶσιν
 ἰδιωτῶν ἔργα εἶναι μὴ ἐπιτρέψαντος τοῦ δήμου,
 τά τε ἡρπασμένα ἀπαιτεῖν καὶ τοὺς ἐργασαμένους
 4 τὰδικήματα ἐκδότους αἰτεῖν³ ἀφικομένων δὲ τῶν
 πρεσβευτῶν ἀκούσαντες τοὺς λόγους οἱ⁴ Αἰκανοὶ
 πλαγίας αὐτοῖς ἔδοσαν ἀποκρίσεις, τὸ μὲν ἔργον
 οὐκ ἀπὸ κοινῆς λέγοντες γνώμης γεγονέναι, τοὺς
 δὲ δράσαντας οὐκ ἀξιοῦντες ἐκδιδόναι, πόλιν τε
 ἀπολωλεκότας καὶ ἀλήτας γεγονότας σφῶν τε ἐν
 5 τῇ πενίᾳ⁵ ἰκέτας ἐφ' οἷς ὁ Φάβιος ἀγανακτῶν καὶ
 τὰς ψευθείσας πρὸς αὐτῶν⁶ ὁμολογίας ἀνακαλού-
 μενος, ὥς εἶδεν εἰρωνευομένους τοὺς Αἰκανοὺς καὶ
 εἰς βουλὴν χρόνον αἰτουμένους ξενισμοῦ τε χάριν
 ἐπικατέχοντας αὐτόν, ὑπέμεινέ τε κατοπτεῦσαι τὰ
 ἐν τῇ πόλει πράγματα βυλόμενος καὶ διεξιὼν
 ἅπαντα τόπον κατὰ πρόφασιν θεωρίας δημόσιόν τε
 καὶ ἱερόν,⁷ τά τε ἐργαστήρια πληθύονθ' ὁρῶν⁸
 ἅπαντα πολεμικῶν ὄπλων, τῶν μὲν ἤδη συντετε-

¹ ἔπεμψαν added here by Caury, ἀπέστειλαν by Sintenis, Jacoby (cf n 5 on preceding page)

² εἰς B om R

³ αἰτεῖν O · παραλαβεῖν Reiske, ἄγειν Sintenis, om Jacoby

⁴ οἱ B om R

⁵ ἐν τῇ πενίᾳ Sintenis, ἐν τῷ πένθει Post ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ O

⁶ Sylburg αὐτόν O

⁷ δημόσιον ἱερόν Sintenis δημοσίων . . . ἱερῶν O

BOOK IX 60, 3-5

Fabius, who had concluded the treaty with the Aequian nation, was the leader, they sent ¹ them out with instructions to inquire of the leaders of the nation whether it was by general consent that they were sending out these bands of brigands into the territory of the allies and also into that of the Romans—for there had been some raids into the latter too by the fugitive Antiates—or whether the state had no hand in any of the things that were going on, and if they should say that the acts complained of were the work of private persons without the consent of the people, they were to demand restitution of the stolen property and ask for the surrender of those who had committed the wrongs. Upon the arrival of the ambassadors the Aequians, having heard their demands, gave them an evasive answer, saying, indeed, that the plundering had not been done by public consent, yet refusing to deliver up the perpetrators, who, after losing their own city and becoming wanderers, had in their destitution² become suppliants of the Aequians. Fabius resented this and appealed to the treaty which they had violated; but seeing that the Aequians were dissembling, asking time for deliberation and seeking to detain him under the pretence of hospitality, he remained there in order to spy upon what was going on in the city. And visiting every place, both profane and sacred, on the pretext of seeing the sights, and observing the shops full of weapons of war, some already completed and

¹ This verb is wanting in the MSS

² Or, following Post's emendation, "in their misfortune"

³ *πληθύνονθ' ὁρῶν* (*cf* chap 71, 1) added by Cary, *πλήρη ὁρῶν* by Sintenis, Jacoby, Post would add *ἰδὼν μεστὰ ἀπαντα*

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λεσμένων τῶν δ' ἔτι ἐν χερσὶν ὄντων, ἔγνω τὴν
 6 διάνοιαν αὐτῶν καὶ ἀφικόμενος εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην
 ἀπήγγειλε πρὸς τὴν βουλὴν ἃ τε ἤκουσε καὶ ἃ εἶδε
 κακείνη οὐδὲν ἔτι ἐνδοιάσασα τοὺς εἰρηνοδίκας
 ἐψηφίσατο πέμπειν καταγγελοῦντας¹ Αἰκανοῖς τὸν
 πόλεμον εἰ μὴ τοὺς τε Ἀντιατῶν φυγάδας ἀπ-
 ελάσωσιν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως καὶ δίκας τοῖς ἡδικημέ-
 νοις ὑπόσχωνται² οἱ δ' Αἰκανοὶ θραυστέρας πρὸς
 τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐποίησαντο τὰς ἀποκρίσεις, καὶ τὸν
 7 πόλεμον οὐκ ἀκούσιοι δέχεσθαι ὡμολόγησαν ἀλλὰ
 γὰρ οὐκ ἐξεγένετο Ῥωμαίοις στρατιὰν ἐν ἐκείνῳ
 τῷ ἐνιαυτῷ ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἀποστεῖλαι, εἴτε τοῦ δαι-
 μονίου κωλύοντος εἴτε διὰ τὰς νόσους αἱ κατ-
 έσχον τὴν πληθὺν ἐπὶ πολὺ μέρος τοῦ ἔτους
 ἀλλὰ φυλακῆς ἕνεκα τῶν συμμαχῶν ὀλίγη τις
 ἐξελθοῦσα δύναμις, ἧς ἠγείτο Κόιντος Σερονίλιος
 ἄτερος τῶν ὑπάτων, ἐν τοῖς Λατίνων ὄροις δι-
 έτριψεν.

8 Ἐν δὲ τῇ πόλει τὸν νεῶν τοῦ Πιστίου Διὸς
 Σπόριος Ποστόμιος ὁ συνύπατος αὐτοῦ καθιέρωσε
 μηνὸς Ἰουνίου ταῖς καλουμέναις νῶναις ἐπὶ τοῦ
 Ἐνυαλίου λόφου, κατασκευασθέντα μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ
 τελευταίου βασιλέως Ταρκυνίου, τῆς δὲ νομιζομένης
 παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις ἀνιερώσεως οὐ τυχόντα ὑπ'³ ἐκεί-
 νου τότε δὲ⁴ τῇ βουλῇ δόξαν ὁ Ποστόμιος ἔλαβεν
 αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐπιγραφὴν ἄλλο δ' οὐδὲν ἐπὶ τῶν
 ὑπάτων τούτων λόγου ἄξιον ἐπράχθη

LXI Ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς ἐνάτης καὶ ἑβδομηκοστῆς
 Ὀλυμπιάδος, ἣν ἐνίκα Ξενοφῶν Κορίνθιος, ἄρχον-

¹ καταγγελοῦντας Cmg καταγγέλλοντας ABC.

² ὑπόσχωσιν Cobet.

³ ὑπ' AB : παρ' C, ἐπ' Portus

others still in the making, he perceived their intention. And returning to Rome, he reported to the senate both what he had heard and what he had seen. The senate, without hesitating any longer, voted to send the *fetiales*¹ to declare war against the Aequians unless they expelled the Antiate fugitives from the city and promised satisfaction to the injured. The Aequians gave a rather bold answer to the *fetiales* and admitted that they not unwillingly accepted war. But the Romans were unable to send an army against them that year, either because Heaven forbade it or because of the maladies with which the population was afflicted during a great part of the year; however, for the protection of their allies a small army marched forth under Quintus Servilius, one of the consuls, and remained on the frontiers of the Latins.

At Rome his colleague, Spurius Postumius, consecrated the temple of *Dius Fidius* upon the Quinal hill on the day called the nones of June. This temple had been built by Tarquinius, the last king, but had not received at his hands the dedication customary among the Romans. At this time by order of the senate the name of Postumius was inscribed on the temple. Nothing else worth relating happened during that consulship.

LXI In the seventy-ninth Olympiad² (the one at which Xenophon of Counth won the foot-race),³

¹ Cf. II 72

² Cf. Livy III 2, 2-3, 10. The year was 463 B.C.

³ This victory of Xenophon is celebrated by Pindar in the 13th Olympian ode.

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τος Ἀθήνησιν Ἀρχεδημίδου, παραλαμβάνουσι τὴν
 ὑπατείαν Τίτος Κοϊντίος Καπιτωλῖνος καὶ Κόιντος
 Φάβιος Οὐιβουλανός,¹ Κοϊντίος μὲν τὸ τρίτον ἐπὶ
 τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀποδειχθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου, Φάβιος δὲ
 τὸ δεύτερον. οἷς ἡ βουλὴ ἀμφοτέροις στρατιᾶς
 μεγάλας καὶ εὖ παρεσκευασμένας παραδοῦσα ἐξ-
 2 ἐπέμψε Κοϊντίος μὲν οὖν ἐτάχθη φυλάττειν τὴν
 σφετέραν γῆν ὅση τοῖς πολεμίοις ὁμορος ἦν,
 Φάβιος δὲ τὴν Αἰκανῶν δηοῦν καὶ καταλαμβάνει
 τοὺς Αἰκανοὺς ἐπὶ τοῖς μεθορίοις ὑπομένοντας
 αὐτὸν σὺν δυνάμει πολλῇ καὶ ἐπειδὴ τὰς παρ-
 εμβολὰς ἐν τοῖς κρατίστοις ἑκάτεροι χωρίοις
 κατεστήσαντο, προήεσαν εἰς τὸ πεδίον Αἰκανῶν
 προκαλεσαμένων καὶ ἀρξάντων τῆς μάχης, καὶ
 διέμειναν ἐπὶ πολὺ τῆς ἡμέρας ἐκθύμως καὶ φιλο-
 πόνως ἀγωνιζόμενοι, καὶ τὸ νικᾶν οὐ παρ' ἄλλον
 3 τινὰ ἢ παρ' ἑαυτὸν ἕκαστος τιθέμενος ὥς δὲ τὰ
 ξίφη τοῖς πλείοσιν αὐτῶν διὰ τὰς συνεχεῖς πληγὰς
 ἄχρηστα ἐγεγόνει, σημηνάντων τὸ ἀνακλητικὸν τῶν
 ἡγεμόνων ἀπῆλθον ἐπὶ τοὺς χάρακας καὶ μετὰ
 τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον ἀγῶν μὲν ἐκ παρατάξεως οὐκέτ'
 αὐτῶν ἐγένετο, ἀκροβολισμοὶ δέ τινες καὶ συμπλο-
 καὶ ψιλῶν περὶ τε ὕδασι καὶ ἐν ἀγορᾷ παραπομπαῖς
 συνεχεῖς κἂν τούτοις μέντοι τὰ πολλὰ ἦσαν ἰσόρ-
 4 ροποι ἐν ᾧ δὲ ταῦτ' ἐγίνετο χρόνῳ μοῖρά τις
 ἀπὸ τῆς Αἰκανῶν στρατιᾶς παρελθοῦσα καθ' ἑτέρας
 ὁδοὺς² εἰέβαλεν εἰς τὴν Ῥωμαίων γῆν ἢ πλείστον
 ἀφειστήκει τῆς ὁμόρου καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἀφύλακτος
 ἦν ἐξ ἧς ἀνθρώπους τε πολλοὺς συνήρπασε καὶ

¹ Sylburg βωλανός ACmg, ἰουλανός BC

² ὁδοὺς Jacoby ἀφύλακτος ὁδοὺς Ba, ἀφυλάκτους ὁδοὺς Bb,
 ὁδοὺς ἀφυλάκτους R

BOOK IX 61, 1-4

Archedemides being archon at Athens, Titus Quintius Capitolinus and Quintus Fabius Vibulanus succeeded to the consulship, Quintius being elected by the people to that office for the third time and Fabius for the second. Both of them the senate sent into the field, giving them large and well-equipped armies. Quintius was ordered to defend the part of their territory which adjoined that of the enemy, and Fabius to plunder the country of the Aequians. Fabius found the Aequians waiting for him on their own borders with a large force. After both sides had placed their camps in the most advantageous positions, they advanced into the plain, the Aequians being the challengers and beginning the battle; and they continued fighting spiritedly and with perseverance for a great part of the day, each man placing his hopes of victory in no one but himself. But when the swords of the greater part of them had become useless from repeated blows, the generals ordered the retreat to be sounded and the men returned to their camps. After this action no pitched battle was again fought by them, but there were sundry skirmishes and constant clashes of the light-armed troops as they went to fetch water and escorted convoys of provisions, and in these encounters, moreover, they were as a rule evenly matched. While this was going on, a detachment of the Aequians' army, marching by other roads, made an irruption into the part of the Roman territory which lay at a very great distance from the common boundary and was for that reason unguarded; and seizing there many persons and goods, they returned to their homes without

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χρήματα, λαθοῦσά τε τοὺς σὺν τῷ Κοιντίῳ περι-
 πόλους τῆς σφετέρας γῆς ἀπῆλθεν ἐπὶ τὰ οἰκεία
 τοῦτο συνεχῶς ἐγίνετο καὶ πολλὴν παρεῖχεν αἰσχύ-
 5 νην τοῖς ὑπάτοις ἔπειτα μαθὼν διὰ κατασκόπων
 τε καὶ αἰχμαλώτων ὁ Φάβιος ἐξεληλυθυῖαν ἐκ τοῦ
 χάρακος τῶν Αἰκανῶν τὴν κρατίστην δύναμιν, ἐν
 τῇ παρεμβολῇ καταλιπὼν τοὺς πρεσβυτάτους αὐτὸς
 ἐξῆλθε νύκτωρ ἱππέων ἐπαγόμενος καὶ τοῦ πεζοῦ
 τὸ ἀκμαιότατον. οἱ μὲν οὖν Αἰκανοί, διηρπακότες
 τὰ χωρία οἷς ἐνέβαλον, ἀπῆσαν ἐπαγόμενοι πολλὰς
 ὠφελείας, ὁ δὲ Φάβιος οὐ πολὺ προελθοῦσιν αὐτοῖς
 ἐπιφαίνεται καὶ τὴν τε λείαν ἀφαιρεῖται καὶ μάχη
 τοὺς ὑπομείναντας νικᾷ γενομένους ἀνδρας ἀγα-
 6 θούς οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ σποράδες ἐμπειρία ὁδῶν λαθόντες
 τοὺς διώκοντας κατέφυγον εἰς τὸν χάρακα ἐπεὶ
 δὲ ταύτῃ ἀνεκρούσθησαν οἱ Αἰκανοὶ τῇ συμφορᾷ
 παρὰ δόξαν σφίσι γενομένη, λύσαντες τὴν παρεμ-
 βολὴν ὑπὸ νύκτα ὥχοντο καὶ οὐκέτι τὸ λοιπὸν
 ἐξήεσαν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἀλλ' ἠνείχοντο σῖτόν τε,
 ὃς ἐν ἀκμῇ τότε ἦν, συγκομιζόμενον ὑπὸ τῶν
 πολεμίων καὶ ἀγέλας βοσκημάτων ἀπελαυνομένας
 ὀρῶντες, χρήματά τε διαρπαζόμενα καὶ αὐτὰς πυρὶ
 δικομένας καὶ αἰχμαλώτους πολλοὺς ἀγομένους
 τοῦτο διαπραξάμενος ὁ Φάβιος, ἐπειδὴ παραδοῦναι
 τὰς ἀρχὰς ἑτέροις ἔδει, τὴν δύναμιν ἀναστήσας
 ἀπῆγε τὸ δ' αὐτὸ καὶ Κοῖντιος ἐποίει

LXII Ἀφικόμενοι δ' εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην ἀπέδειξαν
 ὑπάτους Αὐλὸν Ποστόμιον Ἄλβον καὶ Σερουῖον
 Φούριον οἱ μὲν δὴ νεωστὶ παρειλήφεσαν τὴν ἀρ-
 χήν, παρὰ δὲ τῶν συμμαχῶν Λατίνων ἄγγελοι
 Ῥωμαίοις κατὰ σπουδὴν διαπεμφθέντες ἤκον οὗ-
 7 τοι καταστάντες ἐπὶ τὴν βουλὴν διεσάφουν Ἀντια-

being discovered by the patrolls under Quintus who were guarding their own territory. This happened continually and brought much disgrace upon the consuls. Later Fabius, learning through scouts and prisoners that the best of the Aequians' forces had gone out of their camp, set out himself in the night with the flower of the horse and foot, leaving the oldest men in the camp. The Aequians, after plundering the regions which they had invaded, were returning home with many spoils. But they had not proceeded far when Fabius suddenly appeared before them, took away their booty, and defeated in battle those who valiantly withstood him; the rest scattered, and being familiar with the roads, escaped their pursuers and fled to their camp for refuge. When the Aequians had been checked by this unexpected disaster, they broke camp and departed as night came on; and after that they ventured out no more from their city, but submitted to seeing their corn, which was then ripe, carried off by the enemy, their herds of cattle driven away, their effects seized, their farm-houses given to the flames and many prisoners led away. After these achievements Fabius, the time having come for the consuls to hand over their power to their successors, took his army and returned home; and Quintus did the same.

LXII When they came to Rome,¹ they named Aulus Postumius Albus and Servius Furius consuls. These had just taken over their magistracy when messengers from the Latin allies, sent in haste to the Romans, arrived. These, being introduced into the senate, informed them that the situation at Antium

¹ For chaps 62-66 of Livy III. 4-5. Livy's name for the second consul is Spurius Furius Fusus.

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τῶν τὰ πράγματα οὐ βέβαια εἶναι, κρύφα τε διαπρεσβευομένων πρὸς αὐτοὺς Αἰκανῶν καὶ ἀναφανδὸν εἰσιόντων εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἀγορᾶς προφάσει πολλῶν Οὐολούσκων, οὓς ἐπήγοντο οἱ πρότερον ἐκλιπόντες τὴν πόλιν Ἀντιατῶν, ὅτ' ἐκληρουχεῖτο, διὰ πενίαν καὶ πρὸς Αἰκανοὺς ἀπαντομολήσαντες, 2 ὥσπερ ἔφην. συνδιεφθάρθαι τε τοῖς ἐπιχωρίοις ἅμα ἡγγέλλον καὶ τῶν ἐποίκων συχνούς καὶ εἰ μὴ προκαταληφθήσονται φυλακῇ ἀξιοχρεῶ, ἀναστήσεταιί τινα ἔλεγον κακεῖθεν ἀπροσδόκητον Ῥωμαῖοις πόλεμον. τούτων οὐ πολλῶ ὕστερον ἕτεροι πεμφθέντες ὑφ' Ἑρνίκων ἡγγέλλον ἐξεληλυθέναι μεγάλην δύναμιν Αἰκανῶν καὶ ἐγκαθεζομένην ἐν τῇ σφετέρᾳ γῇ φέρειν τε πάντα καὶ ἄγειν, στρατεύειν δ' ἅμα τοῖς Αἰκανοῖς καὶ Οὐολούσκους τὴν πλείω 3 τοῦ στρατοῦ μοῖραν παρεχομένους πρὸς ταῦτα ἐψηφίσατο ἡ βουλὴ τοῖς μὲν Ἀντιατῶν ταραττουσι τὰ πράγματα (ἦκον γὰρ ἀπολογησόμενοί τινες ἐξ αὐτῶν καὶ καταφανεῖς ἐγένοντο οὐδὲν ὑγιὲς φρονούντες) φυλακὴν ἑτέραν πέμψαι ἢ ἔμελλε δι' ἀσφαλείας ἔξειν τὴν πόλιν ἐπὶ δ' Αἰκανοὺς ἄγειν τὴν στρατιὰν τὸν ἕτερον τῶν ὑπάτων Σερούιον 4 Φούριον καὶ ἐγίνετο ταχεῖα ἀμφοῖν ἡ ἔξοδος οἱ δ' Αἰκανοὶ μαθόντες ἐξεληλυθυῖαν τὴν Ῥωμαίων στρατιάν, ἀναστάντες ἐκ τῆς¹ Ἑρνίκων ἐχώρουν αὐτοῖς ὁμόσε. ἐπεὶ δ' εἶδον ἀλλήλους, ἐκείνην μὲν τὴν ἡμέραν οὐ πολὺ διαστάντες κατεστρατοπέδευσαν, τῇ δ' ἐξῆς ἐπὶ τὸν χάρακα τῶν Ῥωμαίων οἱ πολέμιοι ἦκον διάπειραν αὐτῶν τῆς γνώμης

¹ ἐκ τῆς Gelenius εἰς τὴν O

¹ In chap 60, 2.

BOOK IX. 62, 1-4

was precarious, since the Aequians were sending envoys thither in secret and large numbers of Volscians were resorting to the city openly on the pretext of trading ; they were being brought there by those who had left Antium earlier because of poverty, when their lands were allotted among the Roman colonists, and had deserted to the Aequians, as I have related ¹ At the same time they reported that along with the natives many also of the colonists had been corrupted, and that unless their purpose were forestalled by means of an adequate garrison an unexpected war would break out in that quarter also against the Romans Not long after this other messengers, sent by the Hernicans, brought word that a large force of Aequians had set out and now lay encamped in the Hernicans' country, where they were plundering everything, and that the Volscians were joining with the Aequians in the expedition, contributing the larger part of the army In view of all this the senate voted, first, with reference to those among the Antiates who were creating the disturbances—for some of them had come to Rome to defend their conduct and had made it clear that they had no honest purpose—to send another garrison to keep the city safe ; and second, with reference to the Aequians, that Servius Furius, one of the consuls, should lead the army against them ; and both forces promptly set out The Aequians, upon learning that the Roman army had taken the field, departed from the country of the Hernicans and went to meet it. When the two armies came in sight of one another, they encamped that day not far apart ; and the next day the enemy advanced toward the camp of the Romans in order to ascertain their intentions Then, when the

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5 ληψόμενοι ὥς δ' οὐκ ἐξήεσαν εἰς μάχην, ἀκροβολισμοῖς χρησάμενοι καὶ οὐδὲν ἀξιόλογον δράσαντες σὺν μεγάλῳ αὐχήμετι ἀπήλθον ὁ μέντοι Ῥωμαίων ὕπατος ἐκλιπὼν τὸν χάρακα τῇ ἐπιούσῃ (τὸ γὰρ χωρίον οὐ λίαν ἀσφαλές ἦν) μετεστρατοπεδεύσατο ἐν ἐπιτηδειοτέρῳ, ἔνθα τάφρον τ' ὠρύξατο βαθυτέραν καὶ χάρακα ἐβάλετο ὑψηλότερον τοῖς δὲ πολεμίοις ταῦθ' ὁρώσι πολὺ θράσος προσεγένετο καὶ ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐπειδὴ σύμμαχος αὐτοῖς ἀφίκετο στρατιὰ παρὰ τοῦ Οὐολούσκων τε καὶ Αἰκανῶν ἔθνους, οὐδὲν ἔτι διαμελλήσαντες ἐπήγον τῷ Ῥωμαίων χάρακι

LXIII Ὁ δ' ὕπατος, ἐνθυμούμενος ὅτι οὐκ ἀξιόμαχος ἔσται ἢ σὺν αὐτῷ δύναμις ἀγωνιζομένη πρὸς ἀμφοτέρα τὰ ἔθνη, πέμπει τινὰς ἐκ τῶν ἱππέων γράμματα εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην κομίζοντας, δι' ὧν ἡξίου ταχεῖαν αὐτοῖς ἐλθεῖν ἐπικουρίαν, ὥς κινδυνευούσης
 2 ὅλης διαφθαρῆναι τῆς σὺν αὐτῷ στρατιᾶς ταῦτα ἐπιλεξάμενος ὁ συνύπατος αὐτοῦ Ποστόμιος (ῆσαν δὲ μέσαι νύκτες μάλιστα ὅτε οἱ ἱππεῖς ἀφίκοντο) διὰ κηρύκων πολλῶν τοὺς βουλευτὰς ἐκ τῶν οἰκῶν συνεκάλει καὶ γίνεται δόγμα βουλῆς, πρὶν ἡμέραν λαμπρὰν γενέσθαι, Τίτον μὲν Κοίντιον τὸν ὑπατεύσαντα τὸ τρίτον, ἔχοντα τοὺς ἀκμαιοτάτους τῶν νέων πεζοὺς τε καὶ ἱππεῖς, ἀρχῇ κοσμηθέντα ἀνθυπάτῳ χωρεῖν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἐξ ἐφόδου Αὔλον δὲ Ποστόμιον τὸν ἕτερον τῶν ὑπάτων τὰς λοιπὰς δυνάμεις συναγαγόντα, ἃς ἔδει χρονιώτερον
 3 συνελθεῖν, ὥς ἂν αὐτῷ τάχους ἐγγένηται βοηθεῖν ἡμέρα δ' ἤδη διέφωσκε,¹ καὶ ὁ Κοίντιος συνηγάγε τοὺς ἐτελοντάς² πεντακισχιλίους μάλιστ' ἄνδρας

¹ Kiessling διεπέφωσκε O, ἐπέφωσκε L, Dindorf.

Romans did not come out to fight, they engaged in skirmishes, and without performing any noteworthy exploit retired with great boasting. But the Roman consul on the following day left his entrenchments—for the place was not very safe—and shifted his camp to a more advantageous position, where he dug a deeper trench and threw up a higher rampart. The enemy, seeing this, were greatly emboldened, and still more so when an army came to their assistance from both the Volscian and the Aequian nations; so that without further delay they led their forces against the camp of the Romans.

LXIII The consul, realizing that the army under his command would not be strong enough to contend against both these nations, sent some of his horsemen to Rome with letters in which he asked that reinforcements might speedily reach him, as his whole army was in danger of being destroyed. When his colleague Postumius had read the letter—it was about midnight when the horsemen arrived—he sent out numerous heralds to call the senators together from their homes, and before it was broad daylight a decree was passed by them that Titus Quintius, who had been thrice consul, should take the flower of the young men, both foot and horse, and, invested with proconsular power, should march against the enemy and attack them immediately, also that Aulus Postumius, the other consul, should get together the rest of the troops, whose assembling would require more time, and go to the assistance of the others as speedily as possible. By the time day began to break Quintius got together the volunteers, about five thousand in

² Sylburg *ἐθέλοντας* O



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καὶ οὐ πολὺ ἐπισχὼν ἐξῆγεν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως τοῦτο
 ὑποπτεύσαντες ἔμενον οἱ Αἰκανοί, καὶ πρὶν ἔλθειν
 ἐπικουρίαν τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις προσβάλλειν τῷ χάρακι
 αὐτῶν διανοηθέντες¹ ὡς βία καὶ πλήθει ἀλωσο-
 μένων,² ἐξῆλθον ἄθροοι διχῇ νείμαντες αὐτοὺς
 4 γίνεται τε μέγας ἀγὼν δι' ὅλης τῆς ἡμέρας ἰταμῶς
 αὐτῶν ἐπιβαινόντων τοῖς προτειχίσμασι κατὰ
 πολλὰ μέρη καὶ οὔτε παλτῶν οὔτε βελῶν ἀπο-
 τοξευτῶν³ οὔτε χερμάδων ἀπὸ σφενδόνης ἀφιεμένων
 ἀδιαλείπτους βολαῖς ἀνειργομένων ἔνθα δὲ παρα-
 κελυσάμενοι ἀλλήλοις ὃ τε ὕπατος καὶ ὁ πρεσβευ-
 τῆς ὑφ' ἑνα καιρὸν ἀναπετάσαντες τὰς πύλας, ἅμα
 τοῖς ἀκμαιοτάτοις ἐκτρέχουσιν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους,
 κατ' ἄμφω τε τὰ μέρη τῆς προσβολῆς συρράξαντες
 αὐτοῖς ἀποτρέπουσι τοὺς ἐπιβαίνοντας τῷ χάρακι
 5 τροπῆς δὲ γενομένης ὁ μὲν ὕπατος ἐπ' ὀλίγον
 διώξας τοὺς καθ' ἑαυτὸν τεταγμένους⁴ ἀνέστρεψεν
 ὁ δ' ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ πρεσβευτῆς Πόπλιος Φού-
 ριος ὑπὸ λήματός τε καὶ προθυμίας φερόμενος ἄχρι
 τῆς παρεμβολῆς τῶν πολεμίων ἤλασε διώκων τε
 καὶ κτείνων ἦσαν δὲ δύο σπεῖραι περὶ αὐτὸν οὐ
 πλείους ἀνδρῶν ἔχουσαι χιλίων τοῦτο μαθόντες
 οἱ πολέμοι, περὶ πεντακισχιλίους μάλιστα γενό-
 μενοι, χωροῦσιν ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἐκ τοῦ χάρακος καὶ
 οὗτοι μὲν ἐξ ἐναντίας προσήεσαν, ἱππεῖς δ' αὐτῶν
 κύκλῳ περιελάσαντες κατὰ νώτου τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις
 6 ἐφίστανται τούτῳ δὲ τῷ τρόπῳ κυκλωθέντες ὑπ'
 αὐτῶν οἱ σὺν τῷ Ποπλίῳ καὶ δίχα τῶν σφετέρων

¹ διανοηθέντες O καὶ διανοηθέντες Kiessling, Jacoby

² Post ἀλωσόμενον O, Jacoby

³ βελῶν ἀποτοξευτῶν Post, βελῶν ἀπὸ τόξων Sylburg, βελῶν
 ὑπὸ τοξοτῶν Jacoby βελῶν ἀπὸ τοξοτῶν ACmg, τοξοτῶν
 (omitting βελῶν ἀπὸ) BC

number, and after waiting only a short time he led them out of the city. The Aequians, suspecting this move, remained where they were; and having determined, before reinforcements should come to the Romans, to attack their camp, in the belief that it would be taken by main strength and superior numbers, they sallied out in force after dividing themselves into two bodies. There ensued a mighty struggle, lasting throughout the entire day, as the enemy boldly mounted the outworks in many places and were not repulsed, though exposed to a continual shower of javelins, missiles shot from bows, and stones thrown by slings. Then it was that the consul and the legate, after encouraging one another, both opened the gates at the same time, and sallying out against their opponents with the best of their men, engaged them where they were attacking on both sides of the camp, and repulsed those who were mounting the ramparts. When the enemy had been routed, the consul pursued for a short distance those who had been arrayed opposite to him, and then returned. But his brother and legate, Publius Furius, inspired by courage and ardour, drove ahead, pursuing and slaying, till he came to the enemy's camp. He had with him two cohorts, not exceeding a thousand men. Upon learning of this, the enemy, who were about five thousand, advanced against him from their camp. These attacked the Romans in front, while their horse, circling round them, fell upon their rear. The troops of Publius, when thus surrounded and cut off from their own army, though

⁴ τεταγμένους R om B, Jacoby

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ἀποληφθέντες, ἑξὼν αὐτοῖς σώζεσθαι παραδοῦσι τὰ ὄπλα (προὔκαλουντο γὰρ αὐτοὺς εἰς τοῦτο οἱ πολέμιοι καὶ περὶ πολλοῦ ἐποιοῦντο χιλίους Ῥωμαίων τοὺς ἀρίστους αἰχμαλώτους λαβεῖν, ὥς διὰ τούτων διαλύσεις εὐρησόμενοι καλὰς τοῦ πολέμου), καταφρονήσαντες αὐτῶν καὶ παρακελευσάμενοι ἀλλήλοις μηδὲν ἀνάξιον πράξαι τῆς πόλεως, μαχόμενοι καὶ πολλοὺς ἀποκτείναντες τῶν πολεμίων ἅπαντες ἀποθνήσκουσιν.

LXIV Διαφθαρέντων δὲ τούτων ἐπαρθέντες οἱ Αἰκανοὶ τῷ προτερήματι παρήσαν ἐπὶ τὸν χάρακα τῶν Ῥωμαίων, τὴν τε τοῦ Ποπλίου κεφαλὴν ἐπὶ δορατίου πεπηγυῖαν ἀνατείνοντες καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀνδρῶν τῶν ἐπιφανῶν, ὥς δὴ τούτῳ καταπληξόμενοι τοὺς ἔνδον καὶ ἀναγκάσοντες παραδοῦναι σφίσι τὰ ὄπλα τοῖς δ' ἄρα πρὸς μὲν τὴν συμφορὰν τῶν ἀπολωλότων ἑλεός τις παρέστη καὶ ἀνεκλάοντο αὐτῶν τὴν τύχην, πρὸς δὲ τὸν ἀγῶνα θράσος διπλάσιον ἐνέφου καὶ τοῦ νικᾶν ἢ τὸν αὐτὸν ἐκείνοις τρόπον ἀποθανεῖν, πρὶν εἰς πολεμίων χεῖρας ἐλθεῖν, 2 καλὸς ἔρως ἐκείνην μὲν οὖν τὴν νύκτα παρεστρατοπεδευκότων τῷ χάρακι τῶν πολεμίων ἄγρυπνοί τε οἱ¹ Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ ἐπισκευάζοντες τὰ πεποννηκότα τοῦ χάρακος διετέλεσαν, τά τ' ἄλλα οἷς ἀπερύκειν ἔμελλον αὐτοὺς, εἰ πειραθεῖεν πάλιν τειχομαχεῖν, πολλὰ καὶ παντοῖα εὐτρεπιζόμενοι τῇ δ' ἐξῆς αἷ τε προσβολαὶ πάλιν ἐγίνοντο καὶ ὁ χάραξ διεσπᾶτο κατὰ πολλὰ μέρη καὶ πολλάκις μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐξιόντων κατὰ συστροφὰς ἐκ τοῦ χάρακος ἐξεκρούσθησαν οἱ Αἰκανοί, πολλάκις δ' ἀνεκόπησαν ὑπ' ἐκείνων 3 οἱ θρασύτερον ἐπεξιόντες καὶ τοῦτο δι' ὅλης τῆς ἡμέρας ἐγίνετο ἔνθα ὁ τε ὕπατος Ῥωμαίων σαννίω

they had it in their power to save their lives by giving up their arms—for the enemy urged them to do so and were extremely anxious to take prisoner a thousand of the bravest Romans, in order to obtain through them an honourable peace—nevertheless scorned the enemy and exhorting one another to do nothing unworthy of the commonwealth, all died fighting after they had killed many of the enemy

LXIV When these men had been slain, the Aequians, elated by their success, advanced to the camp of the Romans, bearing aloft, fixed to their spears, the heads of Publius and the other prominent men, hoping to terrify the troops inside by this spectacle and compel them to surrender to them their arms. But though the Romans were indeed somewhat stirred by compassion at the fate of the slain and lamented their misfortune, yet they were inspired with a double boldness for the struggle and with a noble passion either to conquer or to die like their comrades rather than fall into the enemy's hands. That night, accordingly, while the enemy bivouacked beside their camp, the Romans went without sleep as they repaired the damaged portions of their camp and made ready the other means, of many and various kinds, with which to ward off the enemy if they should attempt again to breach their walls. The next day the assaults were renewed and the rampart was torn apart at many points. Often the Aequians were repulsed by sorties of massed troops from the camp, and often the men who rushed out too recklessly were beaten back by the Aequians. And this kept happening all day long. In these encounters the Roman consul was wounded in the thigh by a javelin

¹ *oi B om. R.*

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διὰ τοῦ θυρεοῦ διαπερονηθεῖς τιτρώσκεται τὸν μη-
ρόν, καὶ ἄλλοι συχνοὶ τῶν ἐπιφανῶν ὅσοι περὶ
αὐτὸν ἐμάχοντο· ἤδη δὲ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἀπειρη-
κόσιν ἀπροσδόκητος ἐπιφαίνεται περὶ δειλὴν ὀψίαν
προσιῶν Κοίντιος, ἄγων τὴν ἐβελούσιον ἐπικουρίαν
τῶν ἀκμαιοτάτων, οὓς ἰδόντες οἱ πολέμιοι προσ-
ιόντας ἀνέστρεφον ἀφέντες τὴν πολιορκίαν ἀτελή·
καὶ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι ἐπεξελθόντες αὐτοῖς ἀπιούσι τοὺς
⁴ ὑστερίζοντας ἐφόνεον οὐ μέντοι ἐπὶ πολὺν γέ-
χρόνον ἐδίωξαν ἀσθενεῖς ὄντες οἱ πολλοὶ ὑπὸ τραυ-
μάτων, ἀλλὰ διὰ τάχους ἀνέστρεψαν καὶ μετὰ
ταῦτα διὰ φυλακῆς εἶχον ἑκάτεροι σφᾶς αὐτοὺς
μένοντες² ἐν ταῖς παρεμβολαῖς ἄχρι πολλοῦ.

LXV Ἐπειτα Αἰκανῶν τε καὶ Οὐολοόσκων
ἐτέρα δύναμις καλὸν ὑπολαμβάνουσα καιρὸν ἔχειν
προνομεῦσαι τὴν Ῥωμαίων γῆν ἐξεστρατευμένης
αὐτῶν τῆς κρατίστης δυνάμεως, ἐξῆλθε νυκτός
καὶ ἐμβαλοῦσα εἰς τὴν προσωτάτω χώραν, ἔνθα
τοῖς γεωργοῖς δέος οὐδὲν εἶναι ἐδόκει, πολλῶν γί-
² νονται χρημάτων καὶ σωμάτων ἐγκρατεῖς οὐ μὴν
καλὰς γε οὐδ' εὐτυχεῖς τὰς ἐσχάτας ἔσχον ἐκεῖθεν
ἀπαλλαγὰς³ ὁ γὰρ ἕτερος τῶν ὑπάτων Ποστόμιος
ἄγων τὴν συναχθεῖσαν ἐπικουρίαν τοῖς ἐν τῷ χάρακι
πολεμουμένοις, ὥς ἔμαθε τὰ γινόμενα ὑπὸ τῶν
πολεμίων, ἐπιφαίνεται αὐτοῖς ἐκ τοῦ ἀνελπίστου
³ οἱ δ' οὔτε κατεπλάγησαν οὔτ' ἔδεισαν αὐτοῦ τὴν
ἔφοδον, ἀλλ' ἀποθέμενοι σχολῇ τὰς ἀποσκευὰς καὶ
τὰ λάφυρα εἰς ἓν χωρίον ἐχυρόν καὶ φυλακὴν τὴν
ἄρκουσαν ἐπὶ τούτοις καταλιπόντες οἱ λοιποὶ συν-
τεταγμένοι χωροῦσι τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ὁμόσε· καὶ
συμπесόντες ἄξια λόγου ἔργα ἀπεδείκνυντο, ὀλίγοι

¹ γε B om R

² Sylburg μένοντας O.

that pierced his shield, wounded also were many other persons of distinction who fought at his side. At last, when the Romans had reached exhaustion, Quintus unexpectedly appeared in the late afternoon with his reinforcement of volunteers composed of the choicest troops. When the enemy saw these approaching, they turned back, leaving the siege uncompleted; and the Romans, sallying out against them as they withdrew, set about slaying the laggards. They did not pursue them for long, however, weakened as most of them were by their wounds, but speedily returned. After this both sides acted upon the defensive, remaining a long time in their camps.

LXV Later another force of Aequians and Volscians, thinking they now had a fine opportunity to plunder the Romans' country while their best troops were in the field, set out in the night, and invading the remotest part of the land, where the husbandmen thought there was nothing to fear, they gained possession of much booty and many captives. But in the end their return from there proved neither glorious nor fortunate. For the other consul, Postumius, who was bringing the reinforcements he had got together for the relief of the Romans besieged in their camp, when he learned what the enemy were doing, appeared before them unexpectedly. They were neither astonished nor terrified at his approach, but when they had leisurely deposited their baggage and booty in a single strong place and left a sufficient guard to defend it, they marched in good order to meet the Romans. And when they had joined combat, they performed notable deeds, though they

³ ἀπαλλαγὰς Cmg, Reiske ἀπαλλαγέντες O

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μὲν πρὸς πολλοὺς ἀγωνιζόμενοι (συνέρρεον γὰρ ἐκ
 τῶν ἀγρῶν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς συχνοὶ ἤδη διεσκεδασμένοι¹),
 ψιλῇ δ'² ὀπλίσει πρὸς ἄνδρας ὅλα τὰ σώματα
 ἔχοντας ἐν φυλακῇ, ἐποίησάν τε πολλοὺς τῶν
 Ῥωμαίων νεκροὺς καὶ μικροῦ ἐδέησαν ἐν ἀλλοτρίᾳ
 γῇ καταληφθέντες τρόπαια τῶν ἐλθόντων ἐπὶ σφᾶς
 4 αὐτοὺς ἀναστήσαι ἀλλ' ὃ γε ὕπατος καὶ οἱ σὺν
 αὐτῷ Ῥωμαίων ἱππεῖς ἐπίλεκτοι, ἀχαλινώτοις
 ἐπελάσαντες³ τοῖς ἵπποις κατὰ τὸ καρτερώτατόν
 τε καὶ ἄριστα μαχόμενον αὐτῶν μέρος,⁴ διασπῶσι
 τὴν τάξιν καὶ καταβάλλουσι συχνοὺς διαφθαρέν-
 των δὲ τῶν προμάχων καὶ ἡ λοιπὴ δύναμις ἀπο-
 τραπέῖσα ἐνέκλινεν εἰς φυγὴν, οἳ τε φυλάττοντες
 τὰς ἀποσκευὰς μεθέμενοι αὐτῶν ἀπionτες ὥχοντο
 ἀνὰ τὰ πλησίον ὄρη κατ' αὐτὸν μὲν οὖν τὸν
 ἀγῶνα ὀλίγοι τινὲς αὐτῶν διεφθάρησαν, ἐν δὲ τῇ
 φυγῇ πάνυ πολλοί, χώρας τε ἄπειροι ὄντες καὶ ὑπὸ
 τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἵππου διωκόμενοι.

LXVI Ἐν ᾧ δὲ ταῦτ' ἐγένετο χρόνῳ, πεπυσ-
 μένος ἄτερος τῶν ὑπάτων Σερούιος ἐπὶ βοήθειαν
 αὐτῷ προσιόντα τὸν συνύπατον, δείσας μὴ ὑπαντή-
 σωσιν αὐτῷ οἱ πολέμιοι καὶ διακλείσωσι τῆς πρὸς
 αὐτὸν ὁδοῦ, περισπᾶν αὐτοὺς διανοεῖτο προσβολὰς
 2 ποιούμενος τῷ χάρακι ἀλλὰ γὰρ φθάσαντες αὐτὸν
 οἱ πολέμιοι, ἐπειδὴ ἔγνωσαν τὴν συμφορὰν τῶν
 σφετέρων, ἣν ἀπήγγειλαν οἱ περισωθέντες ἐκ τῆς
 προνομῆς, λύσαντες τὴν παρεμβολὴν ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ
 νυκτὶ μετὰ τὴν μάχην⁵ εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἀπῆραν, οὐχ
 3 ἅπαντα πεπραχότες ὅσα ἐβούλοντο χωρὶς γὰρ
 τῶν ἀποθανόντων ἔν τε ταῖς μάχαῖς καὶ κατὰ τὰς

¹ ἤδη διεσκεδασμένοι AC om B

² δ' Cary om O, Jacoby

fought few against many—for large numbers came streaming in to oppose them from their farms, to which they had earlier scattered—and lightly-armed against men whose bodies were entirely protected. They killed many of the Romans and, though intercepted in a foreign land, came very near erecting trophies over those who had come to attack them. But the consul and the Roman horsemen who were with him, all chosen men, charging with their horses unbridled that part of the enemy which was firmest and fought best, broke their ranks and killed a goodly number. When those in the front line had been slain, the rest of the army gave way and fled, and the men appointed to guard the baggage abandoned it and made off by way of the near-by mountains. In the action itself only a few of them were slain, but very many in the rout, as they were both unacquainted with the country and pursued by the Roman horse.

LXVI While these things were occurring, the other consul, Servius, being informed that his colleague was coming to his assistance and fearing that the enemy might go out to meet him and prevent him from getting through to him, planned to divert them from this purpose by delivering attacks upon their camp. But the enemy forestalled him, for as soon as they learned of the disaster that had befallen their forces, the report being brought by those who had survived the pillaging expedition, they broke camp the first night after the battle and retired to their city without having accomplished all that they desired. For, besides those who had lost their lives in the battles and the pillaging expeditions, they lost

³ Hudson πελάσαντες Ο ⁴ μέρος Β om. R
⁵ μετὰ τὴν μάχην Β om. R

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προνομάς τοὺς ὑστερήσαντας ἐν τῇ τότε φυγῇ
πολλῶ πλείους τῶν προτέρων ἀπέβαλον. οἱ γὰρ
ὑπὸ καμάτου τε καὶ τραυμάτων βαρυνόμενοι σχολῇ
προβαίνοντες ἐγκαταλιπόντων αὐτοὺς τῶν μελῶν
ἐπιπτον, μάλιστα δὲ περὶ τὰ νάματα καὶ ποταμοὺς
ὑπὸ δίψης φλεγόμενοι οὓς οἱ Ῥωμαίων ἱππεῖς
⁴ καταλαμβάνοντες ἐφόνεον οὐ μὲν δὴ οὐδὲ Ῥω-
μαῖοι πάντα ἐκ τοῦ τότε ἀγῶνος εὐτυχηκότες ἀν-
έστρεψαν ἀνδρας μὲν γὰρ¹ ἀγαθοὺς καὶ πολλοὺς ἐν
ταῖς μάχαις ἀπολωλέκεσαν καὶ πρεσβευτὴν ἀπάν-
των λαμπρότατον γενόμενον ἐν τῷ ἀγῶνι νίκην δ'
οὐδεμιᾶς ἤττονα τῇ πόλει φέροντες ἀνέστρεψαν.
ταῦτ' ἐπ' ἐκείνων τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐπράχθη

LXVII Τῷ δὲ κατόπιν ἔτει Λευκίου Αἰβουτίου²
καὶ Ποπλίου Σερουιλίου³ Πρίσκου παρειληφότων
τὴν ἀρχὴν οὐδὲν οὔτε κατὰ πολέμους ἔργον ἀπ-
εδείξαντο Ῥωμαῖοι λόγου ἄξιον οὔτε πολιτικόν,
ὑπὸ νόσου κακωθέντες ὡς οὐπω πρότερον λοιμικῆς
ἢ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἵππων τε φορβάδων καὶ βοῶν
ἀγέλαις προσῆλθεν, ἀπὸ δὲ τούτων εἰς τε αἰπόλια
καὶ ποιμνας κατέσκηψε, καὶ διέφθειρεν ὀλίγου δεῖν
πάντα τὰ τετράποδα ἔπειτα τῶν νομέων τε καὶ
γεωργῶν ἤψατο, καὶ διελθοῦσα διὰ πάσης τῆς
² χώρας εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἐνέπεσε θεραπόντων μὲν οὖν
καὶ θητῶν καὶ τοῦ πένητος ὄχλου πλήθος ὅσον
διέφθειρεν οὐ ῥάδιον ἦν εὐρεῖν. κατ' ἀρχὰς μὲν⁴
γὰρ ἐφ' ἀμάξαις σωρηδὸν οἱ θνήσκοντες ἀπεκομί-
ζοντο, τελευτῶντες δ'⁵ ὦν ἐλάχιστος ἦν λόγος,⁶ εἰς
τὸ τοῦ παραρρέοντος ποταμοῦ ρεῖθρον ὠθοῦντο.

¹ γὰρ B om R

³ Sylburg σερουιλίου O

² Sylburg φαβίου O

⁴ μὲν Reiske τε O.

⁵ δὲ Sylburg

many more staggleis in their retreat at this time than on the former occasion. For those who were overcome by fatigue and their wounds marched slowly, and when their limbs failed them, they fell down, particularly at the fountains and rivers, as they were parched with thirst; and the Roman horse, overtaking them, put them to the sword. Nor did the Romans, either, return home completely successful from this campaign, for they had lost many brave men in the several actions and a legate who had distinguished himself above all the rest in the combat; but they did return with a victory second to none for the commonwealth. These were the achievements of that consulship.

LXVII The next year,¹ when Lucius Aebutius and Publius Servilius Priscus had assumed office, the Romans accomplished nothing worthy of mention either in war or at home, as they were afflicted by a pestilence more severely than ever before. It first attacked the studs of mares and herds of cattle and then seized upon the flocks of goats and sheep and destroyed almost all the live-stock. After that it fell upon the herdsmen and husbandmen, and having spread through the whole country, it invaded the city. It was no easy matter to discover the number of servants, labourers and poor people who were carried off by it. For at first the dead bodies were carried away heaped up in carts and at last the persons of least account were shoved into the river that flows past the city. Of the senate the fourth

¹ For chapts 67 f of Livy in 6 f

⁶ λόγος ὁβελ ὁ λόγος O, Jacoby

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τῶν δ' ἐκ τοῦ βουλευτικοῦ συνεδρίου τὸ τέταρτον μέρος συνελογίσθη διεφθαρμένον, ἐν οἷς ἦσαν οἱ τε ὕπατοι ἀμφοτέρω καὶ τῶν δημάρχων οἱ πλείους
 3 ἤρξατο μὲν οὖν ἡ νόσος περὶ τὰς καλάνδας τοῦ Σεπτεμβρίου μηνός, διέμεινε δὲ τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν ἐκεῖνον ὅλον, ἅπασαν ὁμοίως καταλαμβάνουσα καὶ διεργαζομένη φύσιν τε καὶ ἡλικίαν γενομένης δὲ τοῖς πλησιοχώροις γνώσεως τῶν κατεχόντων τὴν Ῥώμην κακῶν, καλὸν ἡγήσάμενοι καιρὸν ἔχειν¹ Αἰκανοί τε καὶ Οὐολοῦσκοι καταλῦσαι τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτῆς, συνθήκας τε καὶ ὅρκους ἐποιήσαντο πρὸς ἀλλήλους περὶ συμμαχίας καὶ παρασκευασάμενοι τὰ εἰς πολιορκίαν ἐπιτήδεια, ὥς εἶχον ἀμφοτέρω
 4 τάχους, ἐξήγγον τὰς δυνάμεις ἵνα δὲ τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν συμμαχῶν ἀφέλαιντο τῆς Ῥώμης ἐπικουρίαν εἰς τὴν Λατίνων τε καὶ Ἑρνίκων γῆν πρῶτον ἐνέβαλον. ἀφικομένης δὲ πρεσβείας ἐπὶ τὴν βουλὴν ἀφ' ἑκατέρου τῶν πολεμουμένων ἐθνῶν ἐπὶ συμμαχίας παράκλησιν ὁ μὲν ἕτερος τῶν ὑπάτων Λεύκιος Αἰβούτιος ἐκείνην ἔτυχε τὴν ἡμέραν τεθνηκώς, Πόπλιος δὲ Σερουίλιος ἐγγὺς ὢν τοῦ θανάτου ὃς
 5 ἔτι ὀλίγον ἐμπνέων συνεκάλει τὴν βουλὴν τῶν δ' οἱ πλείους ἡμιθυῆτες ἐπὶ κλινιδίων κομισθέντες καὶ συνεδρεύσαντες ἀπεκρίναντο τοῖς πρέσβεσιν² ἀγγέλλειν τοῖς σφετέροις ὅτι διὰ τῆς ἑαυτῶν ἀρετῆς τοὺς πολεμίους ἀμύνεσθαι ἢ βουλὴ αὐτοῖς ἐπιτρέπει μέχρις ἂν ὁ ὕπατος ραῖσῃ καὶ ἡ συναγωνιου-
 6 μένη δύναμις αὐτοῖς συναχθῇ ταῦτα Ῥωμαίων ἀποκριναμένων Λατῖνοι μὲν ὅσα ἡδυνήθησαν ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν εἰς τὰς πόλεις ἀνασκευασάμενοι φυλακὴν

¹ ἔχειν added by Cobet, εἶναι by Kiessling, Jacoby.

² Naber · παροῦσιν Ὁ, Jacoby

part was estimated to have perished, including not only both consuls but also most of the tribunes¹ The pestilence began about the calends of September and continued all that year, seizing and destroying people without distinction of sex or age When the neighbouring peoples learned of the evils that were afflicting Rome, the Aequians and the Volscians, thinking they had an excellent opportunity to overthrow her supremacy, concluded a treaty of alliance with each other, confirmed by oaths, and after making the preparations necessary for a siege, both led out their forces as speedily as possible In order to deprive Rome of the assistance of her allies, they first invaded the territories of the Latins and the Hernicans When envoys from the two nations which were attacked came to the senate to beg assistance, it chanced that one of the consuls, Lucius Aebutius, had died that very day, while Publius Servilius was at the point of death Though he could barely breathe, he convened the senate, of whom the larger part were brought in half dead in litters, and after deliberating, they instructed the envoys to report to their countrymen that the senate gave them leave to repulse the enemy by their own courage till the consul should recover and the army that was to participate with them in the conflict should be assembled When the Romans had given this answer, the Latins removed everything they could out of the country into their cities, and keeping their walls under

¹ It was not until the second century B. C. that the tribunes could become senators, and then only after the expiration of their term of office They had been allowed, however, from an early date to attend meetings of the senate, and this is probably the explanation of the careless form of statement here used

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ἐποιοῦντο τῶν τειχῶν, τὰ δ' ἄλλα περιεώρων ἀπολλύμενα Ἑρnikες δὲ δυσανασχετοῦντες ἐπὶ τῇ λύμῃ καὶ διαρπαγῇ τῶν ἀγρῶν, ἀναλαβόντες τὰ ὄπλα ἐξῆλθον. ἀγωνισάμενοι δὲ λαμπρῶς καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν¹ ἀποβαλόντες τῶν σφετέρων, πολλῶ δ' ἔτι πλείους ἀποκτείναντες τῶν πολεμίων, ἐκβιασθέντες εἰς τὰ τεῖχη κατέφυγον, καὶ οὐκέτι μάχης ἐπειρῶντο

LXVIII Αἰκανοὶ δὲ καὶ Οὐολοῦσκοι προνομεύσαντες αὐτῶν τὴν χώραν ἀδεῶς ἐπὶ τοὺς Τυσκανῶν ἀγροὺς ἀφίκοντο διαρπάσαντες δὲ καὶ τούτους οὐδενὸς ἀμυνομένου παρῆσαν εἰς τοὺς Γαβίνων² ὄρους. ἐλάσαντες δὲ καὶ διὰ ταύτης ἀδεῶς ² τῆς γῆς ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥώμην ἀφικνοῦντο ἐθορύβησαν μὲν οὖν ἱκανῶς τὴν πόλιν, οὐ μὴν κρατῆσαί γε αὐτῆς ἠδυνήθησαν ἀλλὰ καίπερ ἐξασθενοῦντες³ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τὰ σώματα καὶ τοὺς ὑπάτους ἀπολωλέκότες ἀμφοτέρους (καὶ γὰρ ὁ Σερουίλιος ἐτεθνήκει νεωστὶ), καθοπλισάμενοι παρὰ δύναμιν τοῖς τεύχεσιν ἐπέστησαν, τοῦ περιβόλου τῆς πόλεως ὄντος ἐν τῷ τότε χρόνῳ ὅσος Ἀθηναίων τοῦ ἄστεος ὁ κύκλος καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐπὶ λόφοις κείμενα καὶ πέτραις ἀποτόμοις ὑπ' αὐτῆς ἐστίν⁴ ὠχυρωμένα τῆς φύσεως καὶ ὀλίγης δεόμενα φυλακῆς τὰ δ' ὑπὸ τοῦ Τεβέριος⁵ τετειχισμένα ποταμοῦ, οὗ τὸ μὲν εὐρὸς ἐστὶ τεττάρων πλέθρων μάλιστα, βάθος δ' οἶόν τε ναυσὶ πλεῖσθαι μεγάλαις, τὸ δὲ ρεῦμα εἶπερ⁶ τι καὶ ἄλλο ὃξὺ καὶ δίνας ἐργαζόμενον μεγάλας ὄν οὐκ ἔνεστι πεζοῖς διελθεῖν εἰ μὴ κατὰ γέφυραν, ἥ ἦν ἐν τῷ τότε χρόνῳ μία ξυλόφρακτος, ἣν ἔλουν ἐν τοῖς

¹ μὲν B om R

³ ἐξασθενοῦντες B

² Kiessling σαβίνων O

⁶ ἀσθενοῦντες R

guard, permitted everything else to be destroyed. But the Hernicans, resenting the ruin and desolation of their lands, took up their arms and marched out. And though they fought brilliantly and, while losing many of their own men, slew many more of the enemy, they were forced to take refuge inside their walls and no longer risked an engagement.

LXVIII When the Aequians and Volscians had laid waste the Hernicans' country, they came unopposed to the lands of the Tusculans. And having plundered these also, none offering to defend them, they arrived at the borders of the Gabini. Then, passing through their territory also without opposition, they advanced upon Rome. They caused the city enough alarm, it is true, yet they could not make themselves masters of it, on the contrary, the Romans, though they were utterly weakened in body and had lost both consuls—for Servilius had recently died—armed themselves beyond their strength and manned the walls, the circuit of which was at that time of the same extent as that of Athens. Some sections of the walls, standing on hills and sheer cliffs, have been fortified by Nature herself and require but a small garrison, others are protected by the river Tiber, the breadth of which is about four hundred feet and the depth capable of carrying large ships, while its current is as rapid as that of any river and forms great eddies. There is no crossing it on foot except by means of a bridge, and there was at that time only one bridge, constructed of timber, and this they removed in time

⁴ *ἐστίν* added by Reiske

⁵ *τεβέριος* Ba *τεβέρεως* Bb, *τιβέρεως* A.

⁶ Hertlein. *ὥσπερ* O, Jacoby

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3 πολέμοις ἐν δὲ χωρίον, ὃ τῆς πόλεως ἐπιμαχώ-
 τατόν ἐστιν, ἀπὸ τῶν Ἰσκυλίνων¹ καλουμένων
 πυλῶν μέχρι τῶν Κολλίνων, χειροποιήτως ἐστὶν
 ὀχυρόν τάφος τε γὰρ ὀρώρεται πρὸ αὐτοῦ
 πλάτος ἢ βραχυτάτη μείζων ἑκατὸν ποδῶν, καὶ
 βάθος ἐστὶν αὐτῆς² τριακοντάπουν τεῖχος δ' ὑπερ-
 ανέστηκε τῆς τάφρου χώματι προσεχόμενον³ ἐν-
 δοθεν ὑψηλῶ καὶ πλατεῖ, οἶον μήτε κριοῖς
 4 κατασεισθῆναι μήτε ὑπορυττομένων τῶν θεμελίων
 ἀνατραπῆναι τοῦτο τὸ χωρίον ἑπτὰ μὲν ἐστὶ μά-
 λιστα ἐπὶ μῆκος σταδίων, πεντήκοντα δὲ ποδῶν
 ἐπὶ πλάτος ἐν ᾧ τότε οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τεταγμένοι κατὰ
 πλῆθος ἀνεῖρξαν τῶν πολεμίων τὴν ἔφοδον, οὔτε
 χελώνας χωστρίδας εἰδότων κατασκευάζειν τῶν
 τότε ἀνθρώπων οὔτε τὰς καλουμένας ἐλεπόλεις μη-
 χανὰς⁴ οἱ μὲν δὴ πολέμοιοι ἀπογνόντες τῆς πόλεως
 τὴν ἄλωσιν ἀπήεσαν ἀπὸ τοῦ τεύχους, καὶ δηώ-
 σαντες τὴν χώραν ὅσῃν διεξῆλθον ἀπήγον ἐπ' οἴκου
 τὰς δυνάμεις

LXIX Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ τοὺς καλουμένους ἀντιβασι-
 λεῖς ἐλόμενοι τῶν ἀρχαιρεσίων ἔνεκα, ὃ ποιεῖν
 εἰώθασιν ὅταν ἀναρχία κατάσχη τὴν πόλιν, ὑπάτους
 ἀπέδειξαν Λεύκιον Λοκρήτιον καὶ Τίτον Οὐετού-
 ριον Γέμινον⁵ ἐπὶ τῆς τούτων ἀρχῆς ἣ τε νόσος
 ἐπαύσατο καὶ τὰ πολιτικὰ ἐγκλήματα ἀναβολῆς

¹ Ἰσκυλίνων Bb εἰσκυλίνων AC, Αἰσκυλίνων Kießling, Jacoby

² Steph αὐτοῦ ABC

³ προσεχόμενον B συνεχόμενον R, προσεχωμένον Reiske

⁴ μηχανὰς deleted by Cobet

⁵ Sylburg γεμίνιον AB

of war One section, which is the most vulnerable part of the city, extending from the Esquiline gate, as it is called, to the Colline, is strengthened artificially For there is a ditch excavated in front of it more than one hundred feet in breadth where it is narrowest, and thirty in depth, and above this ditch rises a wall supported on the inside by an earthen rampart so high and broad that it can neither be shaken by battering rams nor thrown down by undermining the foundations This section is about seven stades in length and fifty feet in breadth Here the Romans were drawn up at that time in force and checked the enemy's assault, for the men of that day were unacquainted with the building of either sheds ¹ to protect the men filling up ditches or the engines called *helepoles* ² The enemy, therefore, despairing of taking the city, retired from the walls, and after laying waste all the country through which they marched, led their forces home

LXIX. The Romans,³ after choosing *interreges*,⁴ as they are called, to preside at the election of magistrates—a course they are accustomed to take whenever a state of "anarchy," or lack of a regular government, occurs—elected Lucius Lucietius and Titus Veturius Geminus consuls In their consulship the pestilence ceased and all civil complaints, both

² The *helepolis* ("take of cities") was a huge siege tower, several stories in height and mounted on wheels so that it could be readily moved up close to the walls of the beleaguered city Originally an adjective, the name usually appears as a noun, hence Cobet would omit the noun *μηχανάς* here

³ For chaps 69-71 cf Livy III 8, 1-10, 4

⁴ Cf II 57 In this single instance Dionysius uses the term *ἀντιβασίλεις* instead of the usual *μεσοβασίλεις*.

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ἔτυχε, τά τε ἴδια καὶ τὰ κοινά, πειραθέντος μὲν
 αὖθις τὸ περὶ τῆς κληρουχίας πολίτευμα κινεῖν ἐνὸς
 τῶν δημάρχων Σέξτου Τιτίου,¹ κωλύσαντος δὲ τοῦ
 δήμου καὶ εἰς ἐπιτηδειότερους ὑπερθεμένου και-
 2 ρούς προθυμία τε πολλή πᾶσιν ἐνέπεσε τιμωρήσα-
 σθαι τοὺς ἐπιστρατεύσαντας τῇ πόλει κατὰ τὸν τῆς
 νόσου καιρὸν καὶ αὐτίκα τῆς βουλῆς ψηφισαμένης
 καὶ τοῦ δήμου τὸν πόλεμον ἐπικυρώσαντος κατ-
 ἐγραφον² τὰς δυνάμεις, οὐδενὸς τῶν ἐχόντων στρα-
 τεύσιμον ἡλικίαν, οὐδ' εἴ τινα ὁ νόμος ἀπέλυνε,
 ἀξιούντος ἐκείνης ἀπολειφθῆναι τῆς στρατείας·
 νεμηθείσης δὲ τριχῇ τῆς δυνάμεως μία μὲν ὑπ-
 ελείφθη φυλάττειν τὴν πόλιν, ἥς ἡγεῖτο Κόιντος
 Φούριος ἀνὴρ ὑπατικός· αἱ δὲ δύο σὺν τοῖς ὑπάτοις
 3 ἐξῆλθον ἐπὶ τε Αἰκανοὺς καὶ Οὐολούσκους. τὸ δ'
 αὐτὸ τοῦτο καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων ἔτυχεν ἤδη
 γεγονός· ἡ μὲν γὰρ κρατίστη δύναμις ἀφ' ἑκατέ-
 ρου τῶν ἐθνῶν συνελθοῦσα ὑπαίθριος ἦν ὑπὸ δυσὶν
 ἡγεμόσι, καὶ ἔμελλεν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἑρνίκων γῆς, ἐν ᾗ
 τότε ἦν, ἀρξαμένη πᾶσαν ἐπελεύσεσθαι τὴν Ῥω-
 μαίων ὑπήκοον ἢ δ' ἦττον ἐκείνης χρησίμη τὸ
 οἰκεῖα πολίσματα ὑπελείφθη φυλάττειν, μή τις
 4 ἔφοδος αἰφνίδιος πολεμίων ἐπ' αὐτὰ γένηται πρὸς
 ταῦτα βουλευομένοις τοῖς Ῥωμαίων ὑπάτοις ἐδό-
 κει κράτιστον³ εἶναι ταῖς πόλεσιν αὐτῶν πρῶτον⁴
 ἐπιχειρεῖν, κατὰ τοιόνδε τινα λογισμόν, ὅτι διαλυ-
 θήσεται τὸ κοινὸν αὐτῶν στράτευμα εἰ πύθοντο
 ἕκαστοι τὰ οἰκεῖα ἐν τοῖς ἐσχάτοις ὄντα κινδύνους,
 καὶ πολὺ κρεῖττον ἡγήσεται⁵ τὰ σφέτερα σώζειν

¹ Gelenius . τίτου Ο

² Cobet κατεγράφοντο Ο, Jacoby

³ Cobet : κράτιστα Ο.

⁴ πρῶτον Β : om R.

public and private, were postponed. Sextus Titus, one of the tribunes, endeavoured, it is true, to revive the measure for the allotment of land, but the populace would not permit it and deferred the matter to more suitable times. A great eagerness came upon all to take revenge on those who had made expeditions against the city on the occasion of the pestilence. And the senate having straightway voted for war and the people having confirmed the decree, they proceeded to enrol their forces, and no man who was of military age, not even if the law exempted him, wished to be left out of the expedition. The army having been divided into three bodies, one of them, commanded by Quintus Furius,¹ an ex-consul, was left to defend the city, while the other two marched out with the consuls against the Aequians and the Volscians. This same course had also been taken already by the enemy. For their best army, assembled from both nations, was in the field under two commanders, and intended to begin with the territory of the Hernicans, in which they were then encamped, and to proceed against all the territory that was subject to the Romans; their less useful forces were left to guard their towns, lest some sudden attack might be made upon them by enemies. In view of this situation the Roman consuls thought it best to attack their foes' cities first, for they reasoned to this effect, that the allied army would fall apart if each of the two nations learned that their own possessions were in the direst peril, and that they would think it much more important to save their own

¹ Livy calls him Q. Fabius

ἢ τὰ τῶν πολεμίων φθείρειν. Λοκρήτιος μὲν οὖν εἰς τὴν Αἰκανῶν ἐνέβαλεν, Οὐετούριος δ' εἰς τὴν Οὐολούσκων. Αἰκανοὶ μὲν οὖν τὰ ἔξω πάντα ἀπολλύμενα περιορῶντες τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὰ φρούρια εἶχον ἐν φυλακῇ.

LXX. Οὐολούσκοι δ' ὑπὸ τε θράσους καὶ αὐθαδείας προαχθέντες τοῦ τε Ῥωμαικοῦ στρατεύματος ὥς οὐκ ἀξιομάχου ὄντος πρὸς τὸ ἑαυτῶν πλήθος συμφέρεσθαι καταφρονήσαντες, ἐξῆλθον ἀγωνιούμενοι περὶ τῆς γῆς καὶ πλησίον τοῦ Οὐετουρίου κατεστρατοπέδευσαν. οἷα δὲ φιλεῖ πάσχειν στρατιὰ νεοσύλλεκτος ἔκ τε πολιτικοῦ καὶ γεωργικοῦ πρὸς καιρὸν συνελθόντος ὄχλου συναχθεῖσα, ἐν ᾗ πολὺ καὶ τὸ ἄνοπλον ἦν καὶ κινδύνων ἄπειρον, οὐδ' εἰς
 2 χεῖρας ἐλθεῖν τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐθάρσησεν· ἀλλ' ἅμα τῇ πρώτῃ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐφόδῳ διαταραχθέντες οἱ πολλοὶ καὶ οὔτε ἀλαλαγμὸν οὔθ' ὅπλων κτύπον ἀνασχόμενοι, προτροπάδην ἔφευγον εἰς τὰ τεῖχη ὥστε πολλοὺς μὲν ἐν ταῖς στενοχωρίαις τῶν ὁδῶν καταληφθέντας ἀποθανεῖν, πολλῶ δὲ πλείους παρὰ ταῖς πύλαις ὠθυμένους τῶν ἱππέων ἐπιδιωκόντων
 3 Οὐολούσκοι μὲν οὖν ταύτῃ χρῆσάμενοι τῇ συμφορᾷ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἡτιῶντο τῆς ἀφροσύνης, καὶ οὐδὲν ἔτι παρακινδυνεύειν ἐπειρῶντο. οἱ δὲ τὰς ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ στρατιάς Οὐολούσκων τε καὶ Αἰκανῶν ἔχοντες ἡγεμόνες, πυνθανόμενοι τὰ οἰκεία πολεμούμενα, γενναῖόν τι καὶ οὗτοι δρᾶν ἐβουλεύσαντο, ἀναστάντες ἐκ τῆς Ἑρνίκων τε καὶ Λατίνων γῆς ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥώμην ἄγειν, ὥς εἶχον ὀργῆς τε καὶ τάχους, τὸν στρατόν, κατὰ τοιάνδε τινα καὶ αὐτοὶ δόξαν, ὅτι

possessions than to destroy those of the enemy Lucretius accordingly invaded the country of the Aequians and Veturius that of the Volscians. The Aequians, for their part, permitted everything outside their walls to be destroyed, but guarded their city and their fortresses.

LXX The Volscians, however, inspired by rashness and arrogance and despising the Roman army as inadequate to cope with their own large numbers, came out to fight in defence of their land and encamped near Veturius. But, as usually happens with an army of fresh levies composed of a crowd of both townsmen and farmers got together for the occasion, of which many are not only untrained but also unacquainted with danger, the Volscian army dared not so much as encounter the enemy, but the greater part of them, thrown into confusion at the first onset of the Romans and unable to endure either their war-cry or the clash of their arms, fled precipitately inside the walls, with the result that many of them perished when overtaken in the narrow parts of the roads and many more when they were crowding about the gates as the cavalry pursued them. The Volscians, therefore, having met with this disaster, reproached themselves for their folly and were unwilling to hazard another engagement. But the generals who commanded the armies of the Volscians and Aequians in the field, when they heard that their possessions were being attacked, resolved to perform some brave action on their part also, namely, to take their army out of the country of the Hernicans and Latins and lead it against Rome in their present mood of anger and haste. For they too had some such thought as this in mind, that they should succeed in one or

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δυνεῖν ἔργων καλῶν θάτερον αὐτοῖς κατορθῶσαι
 ὑπάρξει, ἢ τὴν Ῥώμην ἀφύλακτον οὖσαν ἐλεῖν ἢ
 τοὺς πολεμίους ἐκ τῆς ἑαυτῶν χώρας ἐκβαλεῖν, ὥς
 δὴ τῶν ὑπάτων ἀναγκασθησομένων πολεμουμένη
 4 τῇ πατρίδι βοηθεῖν ταῦτα διανοηθέντες ἤγον τὴν
 στρατιὰν ἐπιταχύνοντες, ἵν' ἐξ ἀπροσδοκῆτου τῇ
 πόλει συμμίζαντες εὐθὺς ἔργου ἔχωνται

LXXI Ἀφικόμενοί τε μέχρι Τύσκλου πόλεως,
 μαθόντες τὸν περίβολον τῆς Ῥώμης ὅλον πληθύ-
 οντα ὄπλων καὶ πρὸ τῶν πυλῶν τέτταρας ἐξεστρα-
 τευμένας σπείρας, ἀνδρῶν ἑξακοσίων ἑκάστην, τῆς
 μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥώμην ὁδοῦ ἀπετράποντο, τὴν δ'
 2 ὑπὸ τῇ πόλει χώραν, ἣν ἐν τῇ προτέρᾳ παρέλιπον
 εἰσβολῇ, ἐγκαθεζόμενοι ἐδήουν ἐπιφανέντος δ'
 αὐτοῖς θατέρου τῶν ὑπάτων Λευκίου Λοκρητίου
 καὶ θεμένου τὴν παρεμβολὴν οὐ πρόσω, καλὸν
 ὑπολαβόντες εἶναι καιρόν, πρὶν ἐλθεῖν τῷ Λοκρη-
 τίῳ τὴν ἐτέραν Ῥωμαίων δύναμιν σύμμαχον, ἥς
 Οὐετούριος ἡγείτο, συνάψαι μάχην, θέμενοι τὰς
 ἀποσκευὰς ἐπὶ λόφου τινὸς καὶ δύο σπείρας ἐπ'
 αὐταῖς καταλιπόντες, οἱ λοιποὶ προῆλθον εἰς τὸ πε-
 δῖον καὶ συμβαλόντες τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἀνδρες ἀγαθοὶ
 3 κατὰ τὸν ἀγῶνα ἐγίνοντο μέχρι πολλοῦ μαθόντες
 δ' ἐκ τῶν κατὰ νώτου φρουρῶν τινες καταβαί-
 νουσιν ὑπὲρ ὄχθου στρατιὰν ὑπέλαβον ἥκειν τὸν
 ἕτερον τῶν ὑπάτων ἄγοντα τὴν σὺν αὐτῷ δύναμιν,
 καὶ δείσαντες μὴ κυκλωθεῖεν ὑπ' ἀμφοῖν, οὐκέτι
 διέμειναν, ἀλλ' εἰς φυγὴν τρέπονται ἐν τούτῳ τῷ
 ἀγῶνι οἳ τε ἡγεμόνες αὐτῶν ἀμφοτέροι γενναίων ἀν-
 δρῶν ἔργα ἀποδειξάμενοι πίπτουσι καὶ ἄλλοι πολ-
 λοὶ μαχόμενοι περὶ αὐτοὺς ἀγαθοί· οἱ δὲ φυγόντες
 ἐκ τῆς μάχης εἰς τὰς ἑαυτῶν ἑκαστοὶ πατρίδας

the other of two glorious achievements—either to take Rome, if it was unguarded, or to drive the enemy out of their own territory, since the consuls would be forced to hasten to the relief of their own country when it was attacked. Having come to this decision, they made a forced march, in order that they might fall upon the city unexpectedly and immediately get to work.

LXXI Having got as far as the city of Tusculum and learning that the whole circuit of Rome was lined with armed men and that four cohorts of six hundred men each were encamped before the gates, they abandoned their march on Rome, and encamping, they laid waste the district close to the city, which they had left untouched on their former incursion. But when one of the consuls, Lucius Lucretius, appeared and made camp not far from them, they thought this an excellent opportunity to join battle before the other army of the Romans, commanded by Veturius, should come to the assistance of Lucretius, and placing their baggage on a certain hill and leaving two cohorts to defend it, the rest advanced into the plain. Then they engaged the Romans and acquitted themselves bravely in the conflict for a long time, but some of them, being informed by the guards in the rear that an army was coming down over a hill, assumed that the other consul had arrived with the forces under his command, and fearing to be hemmed in between the two armies, they no longer stood their ground, but turned to flight. In this action both their generals fell after performing the deeds of valiant men, and likewise many other brave men fighting at their side. Those who escaped from the battle scattered and every man retired to his own

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4 σκεδασθέντες ἀνεχώρησαν ἐκ δὲ τούτου πολλὴν ἄδειαν λαβὼν ὁ Λοκρῆτιος ἔφθειρε τὴν Αἰκανῶν γῆν, καὶ Οὐετούριος τὴν Οὐολούσκων, ἕως ὃ τῶν ἀρχαιρεσίων ἐπέστη καιρὸς τότε δ' ἀναστήσαντες τὰς δυνάμεις ἀπῆγον ἐπ' οἴκου καὶ κατήγαγον ἀμφότεροι τοὺς ἐπινικίους θριάμβους, Λοκρῆτιος μὲν ἐπὶ τοῦ τεθρίππου παρεμβεβηκώς, Οὐετούριος δὲ πεζὸς εἰσελαύνων. δύο γὰρ οὗτοι θριάμβοι δίδονται τοῖς ἡγεμόσιν ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς, ὥσπερ ἔφην, τὰ μὲν ἄλλα¹ ἔχοντες ἴσα, τῷ δὲ τὸν μὲν ἱππικὸν εἶναι, τὸν δὲ πεζικόν, διαφέροντες

¹ After ἄλλα the MSS. have ταμεῖα (ταμῖα Ba), deleted by Jacoby, Kiessling emended to τίμια

city. As a result of this victory Lucretius laid waste the country of the Aequians in great security, and Veturius that of the Volscians, till the time for the elections was at hand. Then both of them, breaking camp, returned to Rome with their armies and celebrated the triumphs awarded for victories, Lucretius entering the city in a chariot drawn by four horses and Veturius on foot. For these two triumphs are granted to generals by the senate, as I have stated ¹, they are equal in other respects, but differ in this, that one is celebrated in a chariot and the other on foot.

¹ See v 47, 3 f

ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΥ

ΑΛΙΚΑΡΝΑΣΕΩΣ

ΡΩΜΑΙΚΗΣ ΑΡΧΑΙΟΛΟΓΙΑΣ

ΛΟΓΟΣ ΔΕΚΑΤΟΣ

Ι Μετὰ δὲ τούτους ὀλυμπιάς μὲν ἦν ὀγδοηκοστή, ἦν ἐνίκα στάδιον Τορύμβας Θεσσαλός, ἄρχοντος Ἀθήνησι Φρασικλέους ὕπατοι δὲ ἀπεδείχθησαν ἐν Ῥώμῃ Πόπλιος Οὐολούμνιος καὶ Σερούιος¹ Σολπίκιος Καμερίνος² οὗτοι στρατιὰν μὲν οὐδεμίαν ἐξήγαγον οὔτε ἐπὶ τιμωρίας ἀναπράξει τῶν ἀδικούντων σφᾶς τε αὐτοὺς καὶ τοὺς συμμάχους οὔθ' ὥς διὰ φυλακῆς τὰ οἰκεία ἔζοντες τῶν δ' ἐντὸς τείχους κακῶν πρόνοιαν ἐποιοῦντο, μή τι δεινὸν ὁ² δῆμος ἐπὶ τῇ βουλῇ συστάς ἐξεργάσῃται. ἐταράττετο γὰρ αὖθις ὑπὸ τῶν δημάρχων ἀναδιδασκόμενος ὅτι πολιτειῶν κρατίστη τοῖς ἐλευθέροις ἐστὶν ἢ³ ἰσηγορία, καὶ κατὰ νόμους ἡξίου διοικεῖσθαι τά

¹ Sylburg σερούλιος AB

² μακερίνος B.

³ ἢ added by Grimm

¹ For chaps 1-4 cf Livy iii 10, 5-11, 5 The year was 459 B C

THE ROMAN ANTIQUITIES
OF
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BOOK X

I The year after their consulship ¹ occurred the eightieth Olympiad (the one at which Tormbas, a Thessalian, won the foot-race), Phiasicles being archon at Athens; and Publius Volumnius and Servius Sulpicius Camerinus were chosen consuls at Rome. These men led no army into the field, either to take revenge on those who had injured the Romans themselves as well as their allies or to keep guard over their possessions, but they devoted their attention to the domestic evils, fearing lest the populace might organize against the senate and work some mischief. For they were being stirred up again by the tribunes and instructed that the best of political institutions for free men is an equality of rights ², and they demanded that all business both private

² Literally *ἰσηγορία* is "equal freedom of speech", but it seems to be used by Dionysius in the more general sense of "equal civic rights". Other terms used by him in this Book for the same idea are *ἰσονομία* (35, 5) and *ἰσοτιμία* (30, 4).

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τε ἰδιωτικὰ καὶ τὰ δημόσια οὕτω γὰρ τότε ἦν
 οὕτ' ἰσονομία παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις οὕτ' ἰσηγορία, οὐδ'
 ἐν γραφαῖς ἅπαντα τὰ δίκαια τεταγμένα ἀλλὰ τὸ
 μὲν ἀρχαῖον οἱ βασιλεῖς αὐτῶν ἔταττον τοῖς δεο-
 μένοις τὰς δίκας, καὶ τὸ δικαιωθὲν ὑπ' ἐκείνων
 3 τοῦτο νόμος ἦν. ὥς δ' ἐπαύσαντο μοναρχούμενοι,
 τοῖς κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ὑπατεύουσιν ἀνέκειτο τά τε
 ἄλλα τῶν βασιλέων ἔργα καὶ ἡ τοῦ δικαίου διά-
 γνωσις, καὶ τοῖς ἀμφισβητοῦσι πρὸς ἀλλήλους ὑπὲρ
 ὁτουδήτινος ἐκείνοι τὰ δίκαια οἱ διαιροῦντες ἦσαν.
 4 τούτων δὲ τὰ μὲν πολλὰ τοῖς τρόποις¹ τῶν ἀρχόντων
 ἀριστίνδην ἀποδεικνυμένων ἐπὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς ἀκό-
 λουθα ἦν κομιδῇ δ' ὀλίγα τινὰ ἐν ἱεραῖς ἦν βύβλοις
 ἀποκείμενα, ἃ νόμων εἶχε δύναμιν, ὧν οἱ πατρίκιοι
 τὴν γνώσιν εἶχον μόνοι διὰ τὰς ἐν ἄστει διατριβάς,
 οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ ἐμπορευόμενοί τε καὶ γεωργοῦντες διὰ
 πολλῶν ἡμερῶν εἰς ἄστὺ καταβαίνοντες ἐπὶ τὰς
 5 ἀγορὰς ἄπειροι ἔτι ἦσαν τὸ δὲ πολίτευμα τοῦτο
 πρῶτος μὲν ἐπείρασεν εἰσαγαγεῖν Γάιος Τερέντιος²
 δημαρχῶν ἐν τῷ παρελθόντι ἔτει, ἀτελὲς δὲ ἡναγ-
 κάσθη καταλιπεῖν τοῦ τε πλήθους ὄντος ἐπὶ στρα-
 τοπέδων καὶ τῶν ὑπάτων ἐπίτηδες ἐν τῇ πολεμίᾳ
 γῇ τὰς δυνάμεις κατασχόντων ἕως ὃ τῆς ἀρχῆς
 αὐτοῖς παρέλθῃ χρόνος

II Τότε δ' αὐτὸ παραλαβόντες οἱ περὶ Αὐλὸν
 Οὐεργίνιον δῆμαρχοι τελειῶσαι ἐβούλοντο ἵνα δὲ
 μὴ τοῦτο γένοιτο μηδὲ κατὰ νόμους ἀναγκασθεῖεν

¹ Reiske · ἐπιτρόποις O

² Sigonius τεργέντιος AB

¹ This, in an aristocratic state, meant inherited virtue

BOOK X 1, 2—2, 1

and public should be carried on according to laws. For at that time there did not exist as yet among the Romans an equality either of laws or of rights, nor were all their principles of justice committed to writing; but at first their kings had dispensed justice to those who sought it, and whatever they decreed was law. After they ceased to be governed by kings, along with the other functions of royalty that of determining what justice is devolved upon the annual consuls, and it was they who decided what was just between litigants in any matter whatsoever. These decisions as a rule conformed to the character of the magistrates, who were appointed to office on the basis of good birth.¹ A very few of them, however, were kept in sacred books and had the force of laws, but the patricians alone were acquainted with these, because they spent their time in the capital, while the masses, who were either merchants or husbandmen and came down to the capital only for the markets at intervals of many days, were as yet unfamiliar with them. The first attempt to introduce this measure establishing an equality of rights was made by Gaius Terentius in the preceding year,² while he was tribune, but he was forced to leave the business unfinished because the plebeians were then in the field and the consuls purposely detained the armies in the enemy's country till their term of office expired.

II At the time in question Aulus Veigmius and the other tribunes took up the measure and wished to carry it through. But in order to prevent this from happening and that the magistrates might not be compelled to conduct the government in accord-

² For § 5 cf. LIVY III 9. LIVY gives the name as C. Terentilius Harsa.

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πολιτεύεσθαι, πάντα ἐπιμηχανώμενοι διετέλουν οἱ τε ὑπατοὶ καὶ ἡ βουλὴ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πολιτῶν οἱ πλεῖστον ἐν τῇ πόλει δυνάμενοι βουλαί τε πολλαὶ καὶ ἐκκλησίαι συνεχεῖς ἐγίνοντο πείραί τε παντοῖαι ταῖς ἀρχαῖς κατ' ἀλλήλων, ἐξ ὧν οὐκ ἄδηλον ἅπασιν ἦν ὅτι μεγάλη τις καὶ ἀνήμεστος ἐξ ἐκείνης τῆς

2 φιλονεικίας ἀναστήσεται τῇ πόλει συμφορὰ συνήπτετο δὲ τοῖς ἀνθρωπίνους λογισμοῖς καὶ τὰ θεῖα δείματα προσγενόμενα, ὧν ἓνα οὗτ' ἐν δημοσίαις εὐρίσκετο γραφαῖς οὔτε κατ' ἄλλην φυλαττόμενα

3 μνήμην οὐδεμίαν ὅσα μὲν γὰρ ἐν' οὐρανῷ σέλα φερόμενα καὶ πυρὸς ἀνάψεις ἐφ' ἐνὸς μένουσαι τόπου γῆς τε μυκήματα καὶ τρόμοι συνεχεῖς ἐγίνοντο, μορφαί τ' εἰδώλων ἄλλοτ' ἄλλοιαι δι' ἀέρος φερόμεναι καὶ φωναὶ ταραττούσαι διάνοιαν ἀνθρώπων, καὶ πάντα ὅσα τούτοις ὅμοια συνέπιπτεν, εὐρίσκετο καὶ πάσαι ποτὲ γεγονότα ἡττόν τε¹ καὶ μᾶλλον οὐ δὲ ἄπειροί τε καὶ ἀνήκοοι ἔτι ἦσαν καὶ ἐφ' ᾧ δὴ² μάλιστα ἐταράχθησαν, τοιόνδ' ἦν νιφετὸς ἐξ οὐρανοῦ κατέσκηψεν εἰς γῆν πολὺς οὐ χιόνα καταφέρων, ἀλλὰ σαρκῶν θραύσματα ἐλάττω τε

4 καὶ μείζω τούτων τὰ μὲν πολλὰ μετάρσια προσπετόμεναι πτηνῶν³ ὅσαι εἰσὶν ἀγέλαι τοῖς στόμασιν ἥρπαζον, τὰ δ' ἐπὶ τὴν⁴ γῆν ἐνεχθέντα ἐν αὐτῇ τε τῇ πόλει καὶ κατὰ τοὺς ἀγροὺς μέχρι πολλοῦ χρόνου κείμενα διέμεινεν⁵ οὔτε χροῶν μεταβάλλοντα, οἷαν ἴσχουσι⁶ παλαιούμεναι σάρκες, οὔτε

¹ Sylburg δὲ AB

² Naber δὲ B, om R, Jacoby

³ προσπετόμεναι πτηνῶν B · προσπετόμενα πτερῶν A

⁴ τὴν B om R

⁵ διέμεινεν added by Casaubon, ἦν by Jacoby, Kiessling would read διέμεινεν in place of κείμενα.

BOOK X 2, 2-4

ance with laws, the consuls, the senate and all the rest of the citizens of greatest influence in the commonwealth kept resorting to all manner of devices. There were many sessions of the senate and continual meetings of the assembly, and attempts of all kinds were made by the magistrates against one another, from all of which it was manifest to everyone that some great and irreparable mischief to the commonwealth would arise out of this contention. To these human reasonings were added the terrible portents sent by the gods, some of which were neither found recorded in the public archives nor was the memory of them preserved by any other means. As for all the flashes shooting through the sky and outbursts of fire continuing in one place, the rumblings of the earth and its continual tremblings that occurred, the spectres, now of one shape and now of another, flitting through the air and voices that disturbed men's minds, and everything else of that nature which took place, all these manifestations were found to have occurred in times past as well, to either a greater or lesser degree. But a prodigy which they were unfamiliar with as yet and had never heard of, and the one which caused them the greatest terror was this. There descended upon the earth from heaven what appeared to be a heavy snowstorm, only it brought down, instead of snow, pieces of flesh, some smaller and some larger. Most of these while still in mid air were seized by flocks of birds of every kind, which flew up and snatched them in their beaks; but those pieces which fell to the ground, both in the city itself and in the country, lay there a long time without either changing to such a colour as pieces of flesh

⁶ *οἷαν ἰσχοῦσι Ο . οἷα πάσχοῦσι* Casaubon.

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σηπεδόνι διαλυόμενα,¹ ὥζέ τε ἀπ' αὐτῶν οὐδὲν
 5 πονηρόν. τοῦτο τὸ τέρας οἱ μὲν ἐπιχώριοι μάντεις
 οὐχ οἰοί τ' ἦσαν συμβαλεῖν· ἐν δὲ τοῖς Σιβυλλείois
 εὐρέθη χρησμοῖς ὅτι πολεμίων ἄλλοεθνῶν παρ-
 ελθόντων εἰς τὸ τεῖχος ἀγὼν ὑπὲρ ἀνδραποδισμοῦ
 καταλήψεται τὴν πόλιν, ἄρξει δὲ τοῦ πρὸς τοὺς
 ἄλλοεθνεῖς πολέμου στάσις ἐμφύλιος, ἣν χρῆν ἀρ-
 χομένην ἐξελαύνοντας ἐκ τῆς πόλεως καὶ θεοὺς
 παραιτουμένους θυσίαις τε καὶ εὐχαῖς ἀποτρέψαι²
 6 τὰ δεινὰ καὶ κρείττους ἔσονται³ τῶν ἐχθρῶν. ὥς
 δ' ἐξηνέχθη ταύτ' εἰς τὸ πλήθος, ἱερὰ μὲν πρῶτον
 ἔθυσαν, οἷς ἡ τούτων ἐπιμέλεια ἀνέκειτο, θεοῖς
 ἐξακεστηρίois τε καὶ ἀποτροπαίοis, ἔπειτα συν-
 αχθέντες εἰς τὸ βουλευτήριον οἱ σύεδροι παρόντων
 καὶ τῶν δημάρχων ὑπὲρ ἀσφαλείας τε καὶ σωτηρίας
 τῆς πόλεως ἐσκόπουν

III. Τὸ μὲν οὖν καταλύσασθαι τὰ πρὸς ἀλλήλους
 ἐγκλήματα καὶ μιᾷ χρήσασθαι γνώμῃ περὶ τῶν
 κοινῶν, ὥς ὑπετίθεντο οἱ χρησμοί, πάντες ὡμο-
 λόγουν ὅπως δ' ἂν τοῦτο γένοιτο καὶ ἀπὸ τίνων
 ἀρξαμένων εἴκειν τοῖς ἑτέροις τὸ διάφορον παύ-
 σαιτο⁴ τὸ⁵ στασιάζον, οὐ μικρὰν αὐτοῖς παρέιχεν
 2 ἀπορίαν οἱ μὲν γὰρ ὕπατοι καὶ οἱ τῆς βουλῆς
 προσεστώτες τοὺς εἰσφέροντας καὶ πάλιν πολιτεύματα
 δημάρχους καὶ καταλύειν ἀξιούντας τὸν πατριον
 τῆς πολιτείας κόσμον αἰτίους ἀπέφαινον τῆς ταρα-
 χῆς οἱ δὲ δήμαρχοι σφᾶς μὲν αὐτοὺς οὐδὲν
 ἔλεγον ἀξιούν⁶ οὔτε ἄδικον οὔτε ἀσύμφορον εὐ-

¹ Steph διαλυόμεναι O

² ἀποτρέψαι B ἀποστρέψαι R

³ ἔσονται R · ἔσεσθαι A.

⁴ παύσαιτο B καὶ πῶς παύσεται A, καὶ πῶς παύσαιτο R (?)

acquire with time, or becoming rotten, and no bad smell was given off by them. The native soothsayers were unable to conjecture the meaning of this prodigy, but in the Sibylline books it was found that the city would be involved in a struggle to prevent the enslavement of its citizens after foreign enemies had penetrated inside the walls, and that this war against the foreigners would begin with civil strife, which they must banish from the city in its inception, invoking the gods by sacrifices and prayers to avert the dangers; then they would gain the victory over their enemies. When this had been announced to the multitude, the priests who were in charge of such matters first sacrificed victims to the gods who remedy and avert evils; after which the senate assembled in the senate-house, the tribunes being also present, and considered means of safeguarding and preserving the commonwealth.

III. As for putting an end to their mutual recriminations and acting with unanimity concerning public affairs, as the oracles advised, all were in agreement; but how this was to be brought about, and which party should take the first step by yielding to the other the point at issue and thus put an end to the dissension, caused them no little embarrassment. For the consuls and the leaders of the senate declared that the tribunes who were proposing new measures and demanding the overthrow of the time-honoured constitution were to blame for the disturbance. On the other hand, the tribunes denied that they were asking for anything that was either unjust or disadvantageous when they wished to introduce a good

⁵ τὸ Α om R, Jacoby.

⁶ ἀξιοῦν B ἀνάξιον δρᾶν A, Jacoby.

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νομίαν¹ εἰσάγειν βουλομένους καὶ ἰσηγορίαν· τοὺς δὲ ὑπάτους καὶ τοὺς πατρικίους αἰτίους ἔσεσθαι τῆς στάσεως ἔλεγον ἀνομίαν αὖξοντας καὶ πλεονεξίαν
 3 καὶ ζηλοῦντας τὰ τῶν τυράννων ἔθη. ταῦτα καὶ πολλὰ τούτοις ὅμοια παρ' ἐκατέρων ἐπὶ πολλὰς ἡμέρας ἐλέγετο, καὶ προὔβαινε διὰ κενῆς ὁ χρόνος ἐν ᾧ τῶν κατὰ τὴν πόλιν οὔτε δημοσίων οὔτε ἰδίων οὐδὲν ἐτελείτο. ὥς δ' οὐδὲν ἐγίνετο τῶν προὔργου, λόγων μὲν² ἐκείνων καὶ κατηγοριῶν αἷς ἐποιοῦντο κατὰ τῆς βουλῆς οἱ δῆμαρχοι ἀπέστησαν συναγαγόντες δὲ τὸ πλῆθος εἰς τὴν³ ἐκκλησίαν ὑπέσχοντο
 4 τῷ δήμῳ νόμον εἰσοίσειν ὑπὲρ ᾧν ἡξίου· ἐπαινέσαντος δὲ τοῦ πλήθους τὸν λόγον οὐδὲν ἔτι ἀναβαλόμενοι⁴ τὸν παρασκευασθέντα νόμον ἀνέγνωσαν· κεφάλαια δὲ αὐτοῦ τάδε ἦν· ἄνδρας αἰρεθῆναι δέκα ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου συναχθείσης ἀγορᾶς ἐννόμου τοὺς πρεσβυτάτους τε καὶ φρονιμωτάτους,⁵ οἷς ἔστι πλείστη πρόνοια τιμῆς τε καὶ δόξης ἀγαθῆς τούτους δὲ συγγράψαντας τοὺς ὑπὲρ ἀπάντων νόμους τῶν τε κοινῶν καὶ τῶν ἰδίων εἰς τὸν δῆμον ἐξενεγκεῖν τοὺς δὲ συγγραφησομένους ὑπ' αὐτῶν νόμους ἐκκεῖσθαι⁶ ἐν ἀγορᾷ ταῖς καθ' ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτὸν ἀποδειχθησομέναις ἀρχαῖς καὶ τοῖς ἰδιώταις ὅρους
 5 τῶν πρὸς ἀλλήλους δικαίων· τοῦτον προθέντες τὸν νόμον ἐξουσίαν ἔδωσαν τοῖς βουλομένοις αὐτοῦ κατηγορεῖν, ἀποδείξαντες τὴν τρίτην ἀγοράν· ἦσαν δὲ πολλοὶ καὶ οὐχ οἱ φαυλότατοι τῶν ἐκ τοῦ συν-

¹ ἰσονομίαν Benzler in his translation, Cobet Cf chap. 1, 2, 15, 7 ² μὲν B om. R.

³ τὴν deleted by Kiessling.

⁴ ἀναβαλόμενοι B . ἀναβαλλόμενοι R.

⁵ Sylburg φρονίμους O

⁶ Naber . κείσθαι O, Jacoby,

system of laws ¹ and equality of rights, but declared that the consuls and the patricians would be to blame for the dissension if they increased the spirit of lawlessness and greed and emulated the usual practices of tyrants. These and many like reproaches were uttered by each side for many days and the time passed in vain, meanwhile no business in the city, either public or private, was being brought to completion. When nothing worth while was being accomplished, the tribunes desisted from the kind of harangues and accusations they were wont to make against the senate; and calling an assembly of the populace, they promised them to bring in a law embodying their demands. This being approved of by the populace, they read without further delay the law which they had prepared, the chief provisions of which were as follows. That ten men should be chosen by the people meeting in a legitimate assembly, men who were at once the oldest and the most prudent and had the greatest regard for honour and a good reputation, that these men should draw up the laws concerning all matters both public and private and lay them before the people; and that the laws to be drawn up by them should be exposed in the Forum for the benefit of the magistrates who should be chosen each year and also of persons in private station, as a code defining the mutual rights of citizens. After the tribunes had proposed this law, they gave leave to all who so desired to speak against it, appointing the third market-day for that purpose. Many in fact—and those not the least important of

¹ Cobet proposed to read *ισονομίαν* ("equality of laws") here in place of *εὐνομίαν*. But *εὐνομίαν* is probably justified by *ἀνομίαν* just below.

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εδρίου, πρεσβύτεροι¹ καὶ νέοι, κατήγοροι τοῦ νόμου, λόγους διεξιόντες ἐκ πολλῆς ἐπιμελείας καὶ παρασκευῆς καὶ τοῦτ' ἐφ' ἡμέρας ἐγίνετο συχνάς. 6 ἔπειτα οἱ δῆμαρχοι δυσχεραίνοντες ἐπὶ τῇ διατριβῇ τοῦ χρόνου λόγον μὲν οὐδένα ἔτι τοῖς κατηγόροις τοῦ νόμου προέθεσαν, ἡμέραν δὲ ἀποδείξαντες ἐν ἣ κυρώσειν αὐτὸν ἔμελλον, παρεῖναι τοὺς δημότας εἰς αὐτὴν παρεκάλουν ἀθρόους, ὥς οὐκέτι ταῖς μακραῖς δημηγορίαις ἐνοχληθισομένους, ἀλλ' ἐποίσοντας ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ τὴν ψῆφον κατὰ φυλάς οἱ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ὑποσχόμενοι διέλυσαν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν.

IV Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα οἳ τε ὕπατοι καὶ τῶν πατρικίων οἱ πλεῖστον δυνάμενοι τραχύτερον ἤδη αὐτῶν προσιόντες καθήπτοντο, λέγοντες ὥς οὐκ ἐπιτρέψουσιν² αὐτοῖς νόμους εἰσηγεῖσθαι καὶ τούτους ἀπροβουλεύτους. συνθήκας γὰρ εἶναι κοινὰς πόλεων τοὺς νόμους, οὐχὶ μέρους τῶν ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν οἰκούντων. τοῦ τε πονηροτάτου³ ὀλέθρου καὶ ἀνηκέστου⁴ καὶ οὐδ'⁵ εὐσχήμονος ἀρχὴν ἀπέφαινον εἶναι πόλεσί τε καὶ οἴκοις ὅταν τὸ κάκιστον τῷ 2 κρατίστῳ νομοθετῇ. “Ποίαν⁶ δὲ ὑμεῖς,” ἔφασαν, “ὦ δῆμαρχοι, νόμων εἰσφορᾶς ἢ ἀναιρέσεως ἐξουσίαν ἔχετε; οὐκ ἐπὶ ῥητοῖς μὲν δικαίοις ταύτην τὴν ἀρχὴν παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς ἐλάβετε, τοῖς δ' ἀδικουμένοις ἢ κατισχυομένοις τῶν πενήτων βοηθεῖν ἡτήσασθε τοὺς δημάρχους, ἄλλο δὲ μηδὲν πολυπραγμονεῖν, εἰ δ' οὖν καὶ πρότερον ἦν τις ὑμῖν δύναμις ἣν οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ δικαίου βιασάμενοι ἡμᾶς ἐλάβετε, ὑποκατακλινομένης ἐκάστῳ πλεονεκτῇ-

¹ πρεσβύτεροι B : πρεσβύτατοι R

² ἐπιτρέψουσιν A ἐπιτρέπουσιν R.

³ φανερωτάτου Kiessling

the senators, both old and young—did speak against the law, delivering speeches that were the result of much thought and preparation ; and this went on for many days. Then the tribunes, chafing at the loss of time, would no longer permit the opponents of the law to speak against it, but appointing a day for ratifying it, urged the plebeians to be present in force, assuring them that they should not be bored by any more long harangues but should give their votes by tribes concerning the law. After making these promises the tribunes dismissed the assembly.

IV After this the consuls and the most influential of the patricians, going to the tribunes, upbraided them more harshly than before, saying they would not permit them to propose laws, and especially laws not recommended by a preliminary decree of the senate. For laws were compacts of states affecting all alike, and not of a single portion of the residents of states. They further pointed out that it is the first step in the most wicked, irremediable and indecent ruination for both states and households when the worst element prescribes laws for the best. “ And what authority,” they asked, “ have you, tribunes, to introduce or to abrogate laws ? Did you not receive this magistracy from the senate upon explicit terms ? Did you not ask that the tribunes might come to the assistance of those of the poor who were injured and oppressed, but should meddle with nothing else ? But, be that as it may, even if you previously possessed some power which you had wrongfully extorted from us, because the senate

⁴ καὶ ἀνηκέστου B om R.

⁵ οὐδ' B : οὐκ R

⁶ ποίαν Lapus, Sylburg : ποίας AB

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ματι τῆς βουλῆς, οὐχὶ καὶ ταύτην νῦν ἀπολωλέκατε
 3 τῇ μεταβολῇ τῶν ἀρχαιρεσίων,¹ οὔτε γὰρ βουλῆς
 δόγμα ὑμᾶς οὐκέτι² ἀποδείκνυσιν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχήν,
 οὔτε αἱ φράτραι τὴν ψῆφον ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἐπιφέρουσιν,
 οὔτε ἱερὰ προθύεται τοῖς θεοῖς πρὸ τῶν ἀρχαιρε-
 σίων,³ ἃ κατὰ νόμους ἐχρῆν ἐπιτελεῖσθαι, οὔτε ἄλλο
 τῶν πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς εὐσεβῶν ἢ πρὸς ἀνθρώπους
 ὁσίων οὐθὲν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς τῆς ὑμετέρας γίνεται
 τίνος οὖν ὑμῖν ἔτι μέτεστι τῶν ἱερῶν καὶ σεβασμοῦ
 δεομένων, ὧν ἔν τι⁴ καὶ ὁ νόμος ἦν, ἐξαρνησαμένοις
 4 ἅπαντα τὰ νόμιμα," ταυτὰ τε δὴ τοῖς δημάρχους
 ἔλεγον οἱ πρεσβύτεροι καὶ οἱ νέοι αὐτῶν καθ'
 ἑταιρίας διεξιόντες ἀνὰ τὴν πόλιν, καὶ τοὺς μὲν
 ἐπιεικεστέρους τῶν δημοτῶν⁵ ὁμιλίας ἀνελάμβανον
 κεχαρισμέναις, τοὺς δ' ἀπειθεῖς καὶ ταραχώδεις
 ἀπειλαῖς κατεπλήττοντο κινδύνων, εἰ μὴ σωφρονή-
 σειαν⁶ ἤδη δέ τινας τῶν πάντων ἀπόρων καὶ ἀπερριμ-
 μένων, οἷς οὐθενὸς τῶν κοινῶν παρὰ τὰ ἴδια κέρδη
 φροντὶς ἦν, παίοντες ὥσπερ ἀνδράποδα ἀνεῖργον ἐκ
 τῆς ἀγορᾶς.

V 'Ο δὲ πλείστους τε περὶ αὐτὸν⁷ ἔχων ἐταίρους
 καὶ μέγιστον τῶν τότε νέων δυνάμενος Καίσιων
 Κοῖντιος ἦν, υἱὸς Λευκίου Κοιντίου τοῦ καλουμένου
 Κικιννάτου, ᾧ γένος τ' ἦν ἐπιφανὲς καὶ βίος οὐ-
 θενὸς δεύτερος, ἀνὴρ ὀφθῆναί τε κάλλιστος νέων
 καὶ τὰ πολέμια πάντων λαμπρότατος φύσει τε περὶ

¹ ἀρχαιρεσίων B · ἀρχαιρεσιῶν R, Jacoby

² οὐκέτι B om. R

³ ἀρχαιρεσίων AB ἀρχαιρεσιῶν Jacoby.

⁴ ἔν τι B ἔτι R

⁵ δημοτῶν B πολιτῶν R

⁶ σωφρονήσειαν R · συμφρονήσειαν A, Jacoby

⁷ Kiessling · αὐτὸν O

weakly gave in to each encroachment of yours, have you not lost even this power now through the changed character of your elections ? ¹ For neither a decree of the senate appoints you any longer to the magistracy, nor do the *curiae* give then votes concerning you, nor are there offered up to the gods before your election the sacrifices appointed by the laws, nor is anything else done in connexion with your magistracy that is holy in the eyes of the gods or right in the sight of men. What share have you, then, any longer in any of the things that are holy and call for reverence—of which the law was one—now that you have renounced everything lawful ? ” These were the arguments that the older and the young patricians, going about the city in organized groups, used with the tribunes. The more fair-minded of the plebeians they sought to win over by friendly intercourse, and the refractory and turbulent they attempted to terrify with threats of dangers which they would incur unless they came to their senses. Indeed, in the case of some who were very poor and abject and cared naught for the public interests in comparison with their own advantage, they drove them out of the Forum with blows as if they had been slaves.

V But the person ² who was attended with the largest number of followers and had the most influence of all the young men at that time was Caeso Quintius, the son of Lucius Quintius called Cincinnatus, a man both of illustrious birth and of a fortune inferior to none, the handsomest of youths to look upon, distinguished above all others in warfare, and

¹ Cf. ix 41, 2 f., 49, 5.

² For chaps 5-8, 4 cf. Livy iii 11, 6-13, 10

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λόγους κεκρημένος ἀγαθῇ ὅς ἐν τῷ τότε χρόνῳ
 πολὺς ἔρρει κατὰ τῶν δημοτικῶν οὔτε λόγων
 φειδόμενος ὦν βαρὺ τοῖς ἐλευθέροις ἀκούειν, οὔτ'
 ἔργων ἀκολουθῶν τοῖς λόγοις ἀπεχόμενος οἱ μὲν
 οὖν πατρίκιοι τίμιον αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τούτοις εἶχον¹ καὶ
 μένειν παρὰ τὰ δεινὰ ἡξίου, αὐτοὶ² παρασχεῖν³ τὸ
 ἀσφαλές ὑπισχνόμενοι οἱ δ' ἐκ τοῦ δήμου πάν-
 2 των δὴ μάλιστα αὐτὸν ἀνθρώπων ἐμίσουν τοῦτον
 τὸν ἄνδρα ἔγνωσαν οἱ δήμαρχοι πρῶτον ἐκποδῶν
 ποιήσασθαι, ὡς καταπληξόμενοι τοὺς λοιποὺς τῶν
 νέων καὶ προσαναγκάσσοντες σωφρονεῖν γνόντες δὲ
 ταῦτα καὶ παρασκευασάμενοι λόγους τε καὶ μάρ-
 τυρας πολλοὺς εἰσάγουσιν αὐτὸν ὑπὸ δίκην ἀδική-
 ματος δημοσίου, θανάτου τιμΗΣάμενοι τὴν δίκην
 παραγγείλαντες δ' αὐτῷ παρεῖναι πρὸς τὸν δῆμον,
 ἐπειδὴ καθῆκεν ὁ χρόνος ὃν ἔταξαν τῇ δίκῃ, συν-
 αγαγόντες ἐκκλησίαν μακροὺς ἐποίησαντο κατ' αὐ-
 τοῦ λόγους, διεξιόντες ὅσα βία διαπεπραγμένος
 ἐτύγχανεν εἰς τοὺς δημότας, ὦν τοὺς πεπονηότας
 3 αὐτοὺς παρήγον μάρτυρας ὡς δὲ παρέδωκαν τὸν
 λόγον, αὐτὸ μὲν τὸ μειράκιον οὐχ ὑπήκουε καλού-
 μενον ἐπὶ τὴν ἀπολογία, ἀλλ' ἡξίου τοῖς ἰδιώταις
 αὐτοῖς ὑπὲρ ὧν ἡτιῶντο παθεῖν κατὰ τὸν νόμον
 ὑπέχειν δίκας, ἐπὶ τῶν ὑπάτων τῆς κρίσεως γινο-
 μένης ὁ δὲ πατήρ αὐτοῦ χαλεπῶς φέροντας τὴν
 αὐθάδειαν τοῦ μειρακίου τοὺς δημοτικούς ὁρῶν
 ἀπελογεῖτο τὰ μὲν πολλὰ ψευδῇ τε καὶ ἐξ ἐπι-
 βουλῆς συγκείμενα κατὰ τοῦ παιδὸς ἀποδεικνύς·
 4 ὅσα δ' οὐκ ἐνῆν ἀρνήσασθαι μικρὰ καὶ φαῦλα καὶ
 οὐκ ἄξια δημοσίας ὀργῆς εἶναι λέγων καὶ οὐδὲ ταῦτα

¹ εἶχον O ἦγον Cobet

² αὐτοὶ B · αὐτόν R

possessing a natural talent for speaking This he freely indulged at that time against the plebeians , and he neither spared words hard for free men to listen to nor refrained from deeds that matched his words For these reasons the patricians held him in great esteem and urged him to continue on his dangerous course, promising to afford him impunity , but the plebeians hated him above all men. This man the tribunes determined to remove out of the way first, expecting to terrify the rest of the youths and compel them to act sensibly Having come to this decision and got ready their accusations and numerous witnesses, they brought him to trial for a crime against the state, for which they fixed death as the penalty. When they had summoned him to appear before the populace and the day they had appointed for the trial had come, they called an assembly and delivered lengthy speeches against him, enumerating all the acts of violence he had committed against the plebeians and presenting as witnesses the victims of his acts in person When they gave him leave to speak, the youth himself, being called upon to make his defence, refused, but asked the right to give satisfaction to the private persons themselves for the injuries of which they accused him, the hearing to take place before the consuls His father, however, observing that the plebeians were offended by the haughtiness of the youth, endeavoured to excuse him by showing that most of the accusations were false and deliberately invented against his son ; that the instances which he could not deny were slight and trivial and not deserving the resentment of the public, and that not

³ παρέξεν Cobet, παρασχίσεν Hertlein

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ἐξ ἐπιβουλῆς ἢ δι' ὕβρις, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ φιλοτιμίας
 μειρακιώδους γεγονότα ἐπιδεικνύμενος, δι' ἣν
 πολλὰ μὲν αὐτῷ συμβῆναι δρᾶσαι τῶν ἀβουλήτων
 ἐν ἀψιμαχίαις, πολλὰ δ' ἴσως καὶ παθεῖν, οὔτε
 ἡλικίας ἐν τῷ κρατίστῳ ὄντι οὔτε φρονήσεως ἐν
 5 τῷ καθαρωτάτῳ ἡξίου τε τοὺς δημοτικούς μὴ
 μόνον ὀργὴν μὴ ἔχειν ἐφ' οἷς ἡμαρτεν εἰς ὀλίγους,¹
 ἀλλὰ καὶ χάριν εἰδέναι περὶ ὧν ἅπαντας εὖ ποιῶν
 ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις διετέλεσε, τοῖς μὲν ἰδιώταις ἐλευ-
 θερίαν κτώμενος, τῇ δὲ πατρίδι ἡγεμονίαν, ἑαυτῷ
 δὲ εἴ ποτε ἀμάρτοι τι φιλανθρωπίαν παρὰ τῶν πολ-
 λῶν² καὶ βοήθειαν καὶ διεξήει τὰς τε στρατείας
 πάσας καὶ τοὺς ἀγῶνας ἅπαντας ἐξ ὧν ἀριστεία
 καὶ στεφάνους παρὰ τῶν στρατηγῶν ἔλαβε, πολι-
 τῶν τε ὁπόσων ἐν ταῖς μάχαις ὑπερήσπισε καὶ
 6 τείχεσι πολεμίων ὁσάκις πρῶτος ἐπέβη τελευτῶν
 δ' εἰς οἴκτους κατέβαινε καὶ δεήσεις, ἀντὶ³ τῆς
 ἑαυτοῦ πρὸς ἅπαντας ἐπιεικειᾶς βίου τε, ὃς ἐμαρ-
 τυρεῖτο αὐτῷ πάσης καθαρὸς διαβολῆς, μίαν ἀπ-
 αιτῶν παρὰ τοῦ δήμου χάριν, φυλάξαι τὸν υἱὸν
 αὐτῷ.

VI 'Ο μὲν οὖν δῆμος ἦδετο πάνυ τοῖς λόγοις καὶ
 χαρίζεσθαι τὸ μειράκιον τῷ πατρὶ πρόθυμος ἦν.
 ὁ δὲ Οὐεργίνιος ὁρῶν ὅτι μὴ δόντος ἐκείνου δίκην
 ἀφόρητον ἔσται τὸ⁴ θράσος τῶν αὐθαδῶν μειρα-
 2 κίων, ἀνίσταται καὶ φησιν “ Σοὶ μὲν, ὦ Κοῖντιε,
 ἢ τε ἄλλη μαρτυρεῖται πᾶσα ἀρετὴ καὶ ἡ πρὸς τοὺς
 δημοτικούς εὐνοία, ἀνθ' ὧν τὸ τιμᾶσθαί σοι περι-

¹ ὀλίγους Kiessling . λόγους O.

² πολλῶν O : πολιτῶν Kiessling.

³ ἀντὶ B · om R

⁴ τὸ added by Kiessling.

BOOK X 5, 4—6, 2

even these had proceeded from design or insolence, but from a youthful ambition which had led him to do many unpremeditated things in scrimmages—and perhaps to suffer many too—since he was neither at the prime of life nor at the best age for clear judgement. And he asked the plebeians not only to entertain no resentment for the offences which he had committed against a few, but even to feel grateful for the services he had constantly rendered to them all in the wars while trying to secure liberty for his fellow citizens in private life, supremacy for his country, and for himself, if he should be guilty of any offence, friendly consideration and succour from the people generally. He proceeded to enumerate all the campaigns and all the battles in which he had received from his generals rewards of valour and crowns, how many citizens he had shielded in battle, and how often he had been the first man to scale the enemy's walls. And at last he ended with appeals to their compassion and with entreaties, in consideration of his fairness toward all men and of his life in general, which stood approved as free from all reproach, he asked of the people one single favour—to safeguard his son for him.

VI The people were exceedingly pleased with this speech and were eager to grant the life of the youth to his father. But Verginius, perceiving that if he were not punished the boldness of the headstrong youths would become intolerable, rose up and said. "As for you, Quintius, not only all your other merits, but also your goodwill toward the plebeians is amply attested, and for these you have received

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εστιν¹ ἡ δὲ τοῦ μεираκίου βαρύτης καὶ ἡ πρὸς
 ἅπαντας ἡμᾶς ὑπερηφανία παραίτησιν ἢ συγγνώμην
 οὐδεμίαν ἐπιδέχεται ὅστις ὑπὸ τοῖς σοῖς ἤθεσι
 τραφεῖς οὕτως οὖσι δημοτικοῖς καὶ μετρίοις, ὥς
 ἅπαντες ἴσμεν, τῶν μὲν σῶν ὑπερείδεν ἐπιτηδευ-
 μάτων, τυραννικὴν δὲ αὐθάδειαν καὶ βαρβάρων
 ἀνθρώπων ὕβριν ἠγάπησε, καὶ πονηρῶν ἔργων
 3 ζῆλον εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἡμῶν εἰσαγέχοεν εἰ μὲν οὖν
 ἐλάνθανέ σε τοιοῦτος ὢν, νῦν² ὅτ' ἔγνωκας ἀγα-
 νακτεῖν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν δίκαιος ἂν εἴης εἰ δὲ συνήδεις τε
 καὶ συνέπραττες οἷς προεπηλάκιζε τὴν τῶν πενήτων
 πολιτῶν τύχην, πονηρὸς ἄρα καὶ αὐτὸς ἦσθα, καὶ
 ἡ τῆς καλοκάγαθίας δόξα οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ δικαίου σοι
 περιγέγονεν. ἀλλὰ γὰρ ὅτι³ ἠγνόεις αὐτὸν οὐκ
 ὄντα τῆς σῆς ἀρετῆς ἄξιον, ἐγὼ σοι τοῦτ' ἔχω
 μαρτυρεῖν. ἀπολύων δέ σε τοῦ τότε συναδικεῖν
 ἡμᾶς μέμφομαι τοῦ νῦν ἡμῖν μὴ συναγανακτεῖν
 4 ἵνα δὲ μᾶλλον μάθης ἡλίκον ἄρα τῇ πόλει κακὸν
 ἐπιτρέφων ἐλάνθανες, ὥς ὠμὸν καὶ τυραννικὸν καὶ
 οὐδὲ φόνον πολιτικοῦ καθαρὸν, ἄκουσον αὐτοῦ
 φιλότιμον ἔργον καὶ ἀντιπαρεξέτασον αὐτῷ τὰς ἐν
 τοῖς πολέμοις ἀριστείας· καὶ ὑμῶν ὅσοι συνεπαθείτε
 ἀρτίως οἰκτιζομένῳ τῷ ἀνδρὶ σκοπεῖτε, εἰ ἄρα
 καλῶς ὑμῖν ἔχει τοιούτου φείσασθαι πολίτου."

VII Ταῦτ' εἰπὼν ἀνίστησιν ἐκ τῶν συναρχόν-
 των Μάρκον Οὐολούσκιον καὶ λέγειν ἐκέλευσεν ἃ
 σύνοιδε τῷ μεираκίῳ σιωπῆς δὲ γενομένης καὶ
 πολλῆς ἐξ ἁπάντων προσδοκίας μικρὸν ἐπισχῶν ὁ
 2 Οὐολούσκιος εἶπεν " Ἐγὼ μάλιστα ἐβουλόμην ἂν,⁴

¹ Reiske παρέστιν O, Jacoby

² νῦν γ' Kiessling. ³ ὅτι A om. B

⁴ μάλιστ' ἂν ἐβουλόμην Cobet

honour But the offensive behaviour of this youth and his haughtiness toward us all admit of no palliation or pardon ; for though nurtured in your principles, which are so democratic and moderate, as we are all aware, he despised your ways of life and grew fond of a tyrannical arrogance and a barbarian insolence, and has introduced into our commonwealth an emulation of base deeds. If, therefore, you were unaware hitherto of his character, now that you know it, you ought in justice to be indignant on our account; but if you were privy to and took part in the foul abuse he was wont to pour out upon the unhappy lot of the poor citizens, then you too were base and did not deserve the reputation for uprightness that has come to you But that you did not know him to be unworthy of your excellence I myself can bear you witness Nevertheless, though I acquit you of joining with him in injuring us at that time, I blame you for not joining with us now in resenting those injuries And that you may know better how great a bane you have reared up unwittingly against the commonwealth, how cruel and tyrannical and not even free from the murder of his fellow citizens, listen to an ambitious exploit of his and balance it against the rewards of valour he received in the wars And as many of you plebeians as were just now affected with the compassion which this man endeavoured to arouse, consider whether it is after all well for you to spare such a citizen ”

VII Having spoken thus, he asked Marcus Volscius, one of his colleagues, to rise up and tell what he knew about the youth. When all had become silent and full of expectation, Volscius, after a short pause, said . “ I should have preferred, citizens, to

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ὦ πολῖται, δίκην ἰδίαν, ἣν ὁ νόμος δίδωσί μοι, παρὰ τούτου λαβεῖν δεινὰ καὶ πέρα δεινῶν πεπονθώς κωλυθεῖς δὲ τούτου τυχεῖν διὰ πενίαν καὶ ἀσθένειαν καὶ τὸ τῶν πολλῶν εἰς εἶναι, νῦν γ' ¹ ἡνίκα ἔξεστί μοι τὸ τοῦ μάρτυρος σχῆμα, ἐπειδὴ οὐ τὸ τοῦ κατηγοροῦ, λήψομαι ἅ δὲ πέπονθα, ὥς ³ ὡμὰ καὶ ἀνήκεστα, ἀκούσατέ μου ἀδελφὸς ἦν μοι Λεύκιος, ὃν ἐγὼ πάντων ἀνθρώπων μᾶλλον² ἡγάπησα οὗτός μοι συνεδείπνει παρὰ φίλῳ, καὶ μετὰ ταύτ' ἀναστάντες ἐρχομένης τῆς νυκτὸς³ ὥχόμεθα. διεληλυθόσι δ' ἡμῖν τὴν ἀγορὰν περιτυγχάνει Καίσιων οὗτοσὶ κωμάζων σὺν ἐτέροις ἀγερῶχοις μειρακίοις. καὶ οὗτοι τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἔσκωπτόν τε καὶ ὕβριζον εἰς⁴ ἡμᾶς, οἳ⁵ ἂν μεθύοντες⁵ νέοι καὶ αὐθάδεις εἰς⁶ ταπεινοὺς καὶ πένητας,⁷ ὥς δ' ἡγανακτοῦμεν πρὸς αὐτούς, Λεύκιος ἐλεύθερον ῥῆμα⁸ εἰς τοῦτον⁹ εἶπε. δεινὸν δ' ἡγησάμενος οὗτοσὶ Καίσιων ἀκουσαί τι ὦν οὐκ ἐβούλετο, προσδραμὼν αὐτῷ παίων καὶ λακτίζων καὶ πᾶσαν ἄλλην ὠμότητα καὶ¹⁰ ⁴ ὕβριν ἐνδεικνύμενος ἀποκτείνει ἐμοῦ δὲ κεκραγὸς καὶ ἀμυνομένου τοσαῦτα¹¹ ὅσα ἐδυνάμην, ἐκείνον ἤδη νεκρὸν κείμενον ἀφείς ἐμέ¹² πάλιν ἔπαιε καὶ οὐ πρότερον ἐπαύσατο πρὶν ἀκίνητόν τε καὶ ἄφωνον εἶδεν ἐρριμμένον, δόξας εἶναι νεκρὸν μετὰ

¹ γ' B : om R.

² μάλιστα Cobet

³ ἐρχομένης τῆς νυκτὸς Portus, ἀρχομένης τῆς νυκτὸς Cobet · τῆς ἐρχομένης νυκτὸς O, Jacoby.

⁴ εἰς om B

⁵ οἳ⁵ ἂν μεθύοντες Cobet οἷα μεθύοντες ἂν O, Jacoby

⁶ εἰς Hertlein, Cobet ὥς ἂν εἰς O

⁷ πένητας Hertlein · πένητας ὑβρίσαιεν O

BOOK X. 7, 2-4

receive from this man private satisfaction, such as the law affords me, for the terrible and worse than terrible wrongs I have suffered ; but having been prevented from obtaining this by reason of poverty and lack of influence and because of my being one of the common crowd, now, when it is possible, I shall take the rôle of a witness, since I can not take that of an accuser. Hear from me, then, the things I have suffered, how cruel, how irreparable they were I had a brother, Lucius, whom I loved above all men He and I supped with a friend and afterwards, as night came on,¹ we rose and departed. When we had passed through the Forum, Caeso here fell in with us as he was revelling with other insolent youths At first they laughed at us and abused us, as young men when drunk and arrogant are apt to abuse the humble and poor , and when we were vexed at them, Lucius ² spoke out frankly to this man But Caeso here, thinking it outrageous to have anything said to him that he did not like, ran up to him, and beating and kicking him and showing every other form of cruelty and abuse, killed him And when I cried out and was doing all I could to defend him, Caeso, leaving my brother Lucius where he already lay dead, fell to beating me in turn, and ceased not until he saw me cast down upon the ground motionless and speechless, so that he took me to be dead After that he went

¹ The MSS. give " during the following night "

² See the critical note.

⁸ Λεύκιος ἐλεύθερον ῥῆμα Smit ἐλεύθερον ῥῆμα O, Jacoby.
Gelenius added ὁ ἀδελφός.

⁹ εἰς τοῦτον B : εἰς τούτῳ A.

¹⁰ ὡμότητα καὶ B om R

¹¹ τοσαῦτα B om. R

¹² ἐμὲ B : om. R.

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δὲ ταῦτα οὗτος μὲν ἀπιὼν ὥχετο χαίρων ὥσπερ ἐπὶ καλῷ ἔργῳ· ἡμᾶς δὲ οἱ παραγενόμενοι μετὰ ταῦτα αἵματι πεφυρμένους αἵρουσι καὶ εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν ἀπεκόμισαν, τὸν μὲν ἀδελφόν μου¹ Λεύκιον² νεκρόν, ὥσπερ ἔφην, ἐμὲ δὲ ἡμιθανῆ καὶ ἐλπί-
 5 δας ἔχοντα τοῦ ζῆν ὀλίγας ταῦτα δ' ἐγένετο Ποπλίου Σερουιλίου καὶ Λευκίου Αἰβουτίου τὴν ὑπατείαν ἐχόντων, ὅτε ἡ μεγάλη νόσος κατέλαβε τὴν πόλιν, ἥς ἀπηλαύσαμεν καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀμφότεροι τότε μὲν οὖν δίκην οὐχ οἷόν τ' ἦν μοι παρ' αὐτοῦ λαβεῖν τεθνηκότων ἀμφοτέρων τῶν ὑπάτων Λευ-
 κίου δὲ³ Λοκρητίου καὶ Τίτου Οὐετουρίου παρα- λαβόντων τὴν ἀρχὴν βουλόμενος αὐτὸν ἀγαγεῖν ὑπὸ δίκην ἐκωλύθη διὰ τὸν πόλεμον, ἐκλελοιπότην
 6 ἀμφοτέρων τῶν ὑπάτων τὴν πόλιν. ὥς δὲ ἀν- ἔστρεψαν ἀπὸ τῆς στρατείας, πολλάκις αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν καλῶν, ὅσάκις προσέλθοιμι⁴ (καὶ ταῦτα δὴ πολλοὶ τῶν πολιτῶν ἴσασι), πληγὰς ἐλάμβανον ὑπ' αὐτοῦ. ταῦτ' ἐστὶν ἃ πέπονθα, ὧ δημόται, μετὰ πάσης ἀληθείας εἰρημένα πρὸς ὑμᾶς."

VIII. Ταῦτ' εἰπόντος αὐτοῦ κραυγὴ τε ἐκ τῶν παρόντων ἐγένετο καὶ ὄρμῃ πολλῶν ἐπὶ τὴν ἐκ χειρὸς δίκην. ἀλλ' οἳ τε ὑπατοὶ ἐμποδὼν ἐγένοντο καὶ τῶν δημάρχων οἱ πλείους πονηρὸν ἔθος οὐκ ἀξιοῦντες εἰς τὴν πόλιν εἰσάγειν ἦν δὲ καὶ τοῦ δήμου τὸ καθαρώτατον οὐ βουλόμενον ἀποστερεῖν λόγου τοὺς ὑπὲρ τῶν μεγίστων ἀγωνιζομένους.
 2 τότε μὲν οὖν ἐπέσχε τὴν τῶν θρασυτέρων ὄρμην ἢ τοῦ δικαίου πρόνοια, καὶ ἀναβολὴν ἔλαβεν ἢ δίκη, οὐ μικρὰς ἐμπεσοῦσης φιλοτιμίας καὶ ζητήσεως ὑπὲρ τοῦ σώματος, εἴτ' ἐν δεσμοῖς αὐτὸ δεῖ φυλάτ-

¹ μου B : om R

² Λεύκιον deleted by Cobet

away rejoicing, as if over a noble deed. As for us, some persons who came along later took us up, covered with blood, and carried us home, my brother being dead, as I said, and I half dead and having little hope of living. This happened in the consulship of Publius Servilius and Lucius Aebutius, when the city was attacked by the great pestilence, which both of us caught. At that time, therefore, it was not possible for me to obtain justice against him, since both consuls were dead, then, when Lucius Lucietius and Titus Veturius had succeeded to the office, I wished to bring him to trial, but was prevented by the war, both consuls having left the city. After they returned from the campaign, I often cited him to appear before those magistrates, but as often as I approached them—as many of the citizens know—I received blows from him. These are the things I have suffered, plebeians, and I have related them to you with complete truthfulness.”

VIII After he had finished speaking, an outcry arose from those who were present and many rushed to take vengeance out of hand, but they were prevented both by the consuls and also by the majority of the tribunes, who were unwilling to introduce a pernicious custom into the commonwealth. Indeed, the most honourable element among the plebeians too was unwilling to deprive of a defence those who were in jeopardy of their lives. Upon this occasion, therefore, a regard for justice restrained the impulse of the bolder spirits, and the trial was put off, though no small contest and questioning arose concerning the defendant's person, whether he should be kept in

³ λευκίου δὲ B om R

⁴ Reiske προέλθοιμι O

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τεσθαι τέως, εἴτ' ἐγγυητὰς δοῦναι τῆς ἀφίξεως,
 ὥσπερ καὶ¹ ὁ πατὴρ ἡξίου καὶ ἡ βουλή συνελθοῦσα²
 ἐψηφίσατο χρήμασι διεγγυηθὲν ἐλεύθερον εἶναι τὸ
 3 σῶμα μέχρι δίκης τῇ δ' ἐξῆς ἡμέρᾳ συναγαγόντες
 οἱ δῆμαρχοι τὸ πλῆθος, ἐκλιπόντος τοῦ μειρακίου
 τὴν δίκην, ἐκύρωσαν τὴν κατ' αὐτοῦ ψῆφον καὶ
 τοὺς ἐγγυητὰς δέκα ὄντας ἐπράξαντο τὰ περὶ τοῦ
 σώματος τῆς ἀποκαταστάσεως ὁμολογηθέντα χρή-
 4 ματα. Καίσων μὲν οὖν τοιαύτῃ περιπεσὼν ἐπι-
 βουλῇ, κατασκευασαμένων ἅπαντα τῶν δημάρχων
 καὶ Οὐλολυσκίου ψευδῆ³ μαρτυρήσαντος, ὥς⁴ ἐγέ-
 νετο φανερόν σὺν χρόνῳ, φεύγων εἰς Τυρρηνίαν
 ὥχετο ὁ δὲ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ τὰ πλείστα τῆς οὐσίας
 ἀπεμπολήσας καὶ τὰ ὁμολογηθέντα ὑπὸ τῶν ἐγ-
 γυητῶν χρήματα ἀποδοὺς, ἑαυτῷ χωρίον ἐν μικρὸν
 ὑπολειπόμενος πέραν τοῦ Τεβέριος ποταμοῦ, ἐν ᾧ
 ταπεινὴ τις ἦν καλύβη, γεωργῶν αὐτόθι μετὰ
 δούλων ὀλίγων ἐπίπονον καὶ ταλαίπωρον ἔζη βίον
 ὑπὸ λύπης τε καὶ πενίας, οὔτε πόλιν ὄρων οὔτε
 φίλους ἀσπαζόμενος οὔθ' ἐορτάζων οὔτ' ἄλλης
 5 εὐφροσύνης οὐδεμιᾶς ἑαυτῷ μεταδιδούς τοῖς μέν-
 τοι δημάρχοις πολὺ τὸ παράλογον ἐγένετο τῆς
 ἐλπίδος οὐ γὰρ ὅπως ἐπαύσατο ἢ τῶν νέων φιλο-
 τιμία σωφρονισθεῖσα τῇ Καίσωνος συμφορᾷ, πολὺ
 δὲ χαλεπωτέρα καὶ πλείων ἐγένετο ἔργοις τε καὶ
 λόγοις καταγωνιζομένη τὸν νόμον ὥστ' οὔθὲν ἔτι
 αὐτοῖς ἐξεγένετο διαπράξασθαι δαπανηθέντος εἰς
 ταῦτα τοῦ χρόνου τῆς ἀρχῆς. ὁ μέντοι δῆμος εἰς
 τὸν ἐπιόντα πάλιν ἐνιαυτὸν ἄρχοντας ἀπέδειξεν
 αὐτούς⁵

¹ καὶ A : om R.

² συνελθοῦσα B om R.

³ ψευδῆ om B

BOOK X 8, 2-5

chains in the meantime or should give sureties for his appearance, as his father requested. The senate, assembling, ordered that if bail were offered his person should be free till the trial. The next day the tribunes assembled the populace and, the youth not appearing for trial, they caused a vote to be passed for his condemnation and compelled his sureties, ten in number, to pay over the sums agreed upon in case of their failure to produce his person. Caeso, accordingly, having fallen a victim to a plot of this sort—for the tribunes had contrived the whole business and Volscius had borne false witness, as became clear later—went into exile in Tyrrhemia. His father sold the greater part of his estate and repaid the sureties the sums agreed upon, leaving nothing for himself but one small farm lying on the other side of the river Tiber, on which there was an humble cottage; and there, cultivating the farm with the help of a few slaves, he led a laborious and miserable life because of his grief and poverty, neither visiting the city nor greeting his friends nor taking part in the festivals nor allowing himself any other pleasure. The tribunes,¹ however, were greatly disappointed in their expectations, for the contentiousness of the young men, far from being chastened by the unhappy fate of Caeso, grew much more vexatious and excessive as they fought the law with both actions and words. The result was that the tribunes were unable to accomplish anything more, the whole time of their magistracy being taken up with these contests. The populace, however, chose them again as their magistrates for the following year.

¹ For § 5 cf. Livy III. 14

⁴ ὧς Α δὲ Β

⁵ αὐτοὺς R . τοὺς αὐτοὺς B

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IX Ποπλίου δὲ Οὐαλερίου Ποπλικόλα καὶ Γαῖου Κλαυδίου Σαβίνου τὴν ὑπατικὴν ἐξουσίαν παραλαβόντων κίνδυνος ὅσος οὐπω τὴν Ῥώμην κατέσχειν ἐξ ἄλλοεθνῶν πολέμου, ὃν παρήγαγεν ἐντὸς τείχους ἡ πολιτικὴ στάσις, ὥς οἱ τε Σιβύλλειοι χρησμοὶ προὔλεγον καὶ τὰ ἐκ τοῦ δαιμονίου φανέντα προεθέσπισε τῷ παρελθόντι ἐνιαυτῷ. διηγῆσομαι δὲ τὴν τε αἰτίαν ἀφ' ἧς ὁ πόλεμος εἰσῆλθε καὶ τὰ πραχθέντα τοῖς ὑπάτοις κατὰ τὸν
 2 τότε ἀγῶνα οἱ παρειληφότες τὸ δεύτερον τὴν δημαρχίαν ἐπὶ τῇ ἐλπίδι τοῦ κυρώσειν τὸν νόμον, ὁρῶντες τῶν τε ὑπάτων τὸν ἕτερον, Γάιον Κλαύδιον, ἔμφυτον τὸ πρὸς τοὺς δημοτικούς ἔχοντα μῖσος διὰ προγόνων καὶ παρεσκευασμένον ἀπάσῃ μηχανῇ κωλύειν τὰ γινόμενα, τῶν τε νέων τοὺς πλείστον δυναμένους εἰς ἀπόνοιαν φανεράν προεηλυθότας, οὓς οὐκ ἐνῆν τῷ βιαίῳ καταγωνίσασθαι, μάλιστα δὲ τοῦ δήμου τὸ πλεῖον ὑποκατακλινόμενον ταῖς θεραπείαις τῶν πατρικίων καὶ προθυμίαν οὐκέτι περὶ τοῦ νόμου τὴν αὐτὴν παρεχόμενον, ἰταμωτέραν ὁδὸν ἔγνωσαν ἐπὶ τὰ πράγματα πορεύεσθαι, δι' ἧς καταπλήζονται μὲν τὸν δῆμον, ἀνα-
 3 βαλοῦσι δὲ τὸν ὑπατον πρῶτον μὲν κατεσκεύασαν φήμας λέγεσθαι κατὰ τὴν πόλιν παντοδαπὰς· ἔπειτ' ἐξ ἑωθινοῦ καθεζόμενοι δι' ὅλης ἡμέρας συνήδρευον ἐν τῷ φανερῷ, μεταδιδόντες οὐθενὶ τῶν ἔξωθεν οὔτε βουλευμάτων οὔτε λόγου. ἐπεὶ δὲ καιρὸς ἐπιτήδειος ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς εἶναι πράττειν τὰ βεβουλευμένα, πλασάμενοι γράμματα καὶ ταῦτα¹ παρασκευάσαντες ἀναδοθῆναι σφίσιν ὑπ' ἀνδρὸς ἀγνώτος καθημένους ἐν ἀγορᾷ, ὥς διῆλθον αὐτά, παίοντες

¹ ταῦτα om A.

BOOK X 9, 1-3

IX When Publius Valerius Publicola and Gaius Claudius Sabinus ¹ had assumed the consular power, a danger greater than ever before came upon Rome from a foreign war ², and it was brought upon her by the civil dissension inside the walls, as both the Sibylline oracles and the portents sent by Heaven had foretold the year before ³ I shall relate not only the cause from which the war arose, but also the action taken by the consuls during that contest. The men who had assumed the tribuneship for the second time in the hope of securing the ratification of the law, observing that one of the consuls, Gaius Claudius, had an inborn hatred of the plebeians, inherited from his ancestors, and was prepared to defeat the plans afoot by every possible means, that the most influential of the youths had reached the point of open desperation, with no possibility of their being subdued by forcible means, and above all, that most of the populace were yielding to the blandishments of the patricians and no longer exhibiting the same zeal for the law, resolved to take a bolder course toward their goal, by which they expected to dumbfound the populace and unseat the consul. First, then, they caused all manner of rumours to be spread throughout the city; afterwards they sat in council publicly throughout the whole day from early morning without admitting any outsiders to their counsels and discussions. Then, when it seemed to them to be the proper time for putting their plans into execution, they forged letters and contrived to have these delivered to them by an unknown person as they sat in the Forum; and as soon as they had perused them, they sprang up,

¹ For chaps 9-13 of Livy III 15, 1-4

² See chaps 14 ff.

³ See chap. 2, 5.

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τὰ μέτωπα καὶ κατηφεῖς τὰς ὄψεις ποιήσαντες
 4 ἀνίστανται πολλοῦ δὲ συνδραμόντος ὄχλου καὶ
 μέγα τι κακὸν ἐν τοῖς γράμμασιν ἐνεῖναι γεγραμ-
 μένον μαντευομένου σιωπῇν προκηρύξαντες εἶπον
 “ Ἐν ἐσχάτοις ἐστὶν ὑμῖν κινδύνοις, ὦ πολῖται,
 τὸ δημοτικὸν καὶ εἰ μὴ θεῶν τις εὖνοια προείδετο
 τῶν¹ ἄδικα πάσχειν μελλόντων, εἰς δεινὰς ἂν
 ἅπαντες ἤλθομεν συμφοράς. αἰτούμεθα δὲ ὑμᾶς
 βραχὺν ἐπισχεῖν χρόνον, ἕως ἂν² τῇ βουλῇ δηλώ-
 σωμεν³ τὰ προσαγγελθέντα καὶ μετὰ κοινῆς γνώμης
 5 πράξωμεν⁴ τὰ δέοντα⁵ ” ταῦτ’ εἰπόντες ὥχοντο
 πρὸς τοὺς ὑπάτους. ἐν ὧσιν δὲ ἡ βουλὴ συνήγετο
 χρόνῳ, πολλοὶ καὶ παντοδαποὶ λόγοι κατὰ τὴν
 ἀγορὰν ἐγίνοντο, τῶν μὲν ἐκ παρασκευῆς ἡ παρηγ-
 γέλλετο⁶ αὐτοῖς ὑπὸ τῶν δημάρχων κατὰ συστροφὰς
 λαλούντων, τῶν δέ, ἡ μάλιστα ἐδεδοίκεσαν μὴ
 γένηται, ταῦτα ὡς ἀπηγγελμένα τοῖς δημάρχοις
 6 λεγόντων ἔφη δ’ ὁ μὲν τις Αἰκανοὺς καὶ Οὐο-
 λούσκους ὑποδεξαμένους Καίσωνα Κοίντιον τὸν ὑπὸ
 τοῦ δήμου καταδικασθέντα ἡρῆσθαι στρατηγὸν
 αὐτοκράτορα τῶν ἐθνῶν καὶ πολλὰς δυνάμεις ἀγεί-
 ραντας⁷ μέλλειν ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥώμην ἐλαύνειν ὁ δὲ τις
 ἀπὸ κοινῆς γνώμης τῶν πατρικίων τὸν ἄνδρα
 κατάγεσθαι ξενικαῖς δυνάμεσιν, ἵνα ἡ φυλακὴ
 καταλυθείη⁸ νῦν τε καὶ εἰς τὸν λοιπὸν χρόνον τῶν
 δημοτικῶν ὁ δὲ τις οὐχ ἅπαντας εἶναι τοὺς πατρι-
 κίους ἔφη τοὺς ταῦτα βεβουλευμένους, ἀλλὰ μόνους
 7 τοὺς νέους ἐτόλμων δὲ τινες λέγειν ὅτι καὶ ἐντὸς

¹ προείδετο τῶν Sylburg · προεῖδε τούτων AB.

² ἂν R om B ³ δηλώσωμεν R · δηλώσομεν Bb

⁴ πράξωμεν R πράξομεν Bb.

⁵ δέοντα A δόξαντα B.

BOOK X. 9, 3-7

beating their foreheads and assuming downcast countenances. And when a large crowd had flocked together and was conjecturing that some dreadful intelligence was contained in the letters, they ordered the heralds to proclaim silence and then said "Your plebeians are in the gravest peril, citizens, and if some benevolence of the gods had not provided for those who were on the point of suffering injustice, we should all have fallen into due calamities. We ask you to have a little patience till we acquaint the senate with the information we have received and after consulting with them take the necessary measures." Having spoken thus, they went to the consuls. While the senate was assembling, many reports of all kinds circulated in the Forum, as some persons, by previous arrangement, talking in groups, retailed the stories suggested to them by the tribunes, and others named the things they most dreaded to have happen as the matters that had been reported to the tribunes. One said that the Aequians and the Volscians, having received Caeso Quintius, the man condemned by the populace, had chosen him general of both nations with absolute power, had raised numerous forces, and were upon the point of marching on Rome; another said that by the concerted plan of the patricians he was being brought back by foreign troops in order that the magistracy which was the guardian of the plebeians might be abolished now and forever; and still another said that not all the patricians had decided on this course, but only the young men. Some ventured to state that Caeso was

⁶ παρηγγέλλετο AB . παρήγγελτο R(?)

⁷ Kiessling ἀγείραντα O, Jacoby

⁸ καταλυθείη B . καταλυθῇ R.

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τῆς πόλεως ὁ ἀνὴρ εἴη κρυπτόμενος καὶ μέλλοι καταλαμβάνεσθαι τῶν τόπων τοὺς ἐπικαιροτάτους. ὅλης δὲ κραδαινομένης ἐπὶ τῇ προσδοκίᾳ τῶν δεινῶν τῆς πόλεως, καὶ πάντων ἀλλήλους ἐχόντων δι' ὑποψίας καὶ φυλακῆς, οἱ μὲν ὕπατοι τὴν βουλὴν ἐκάλουν, οἱ δὲ δήμαρχοι παρελθόντες¹ ἐδείκνυσαν τὰ προσαγγελλόμενα ἦν δὲ ὁ τοὺς λόγους ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ποιούμενος Αὐλος Οὐεργίνιος καὶ ἔλεξε τοιάδε·

Χ. “Ὅσον μὲν χρόνον οὐθὲν ἀκριβὲς ἡμῖν ἐφαίνετο τῶν προσαγγελλομένων δεινῶν, ἀλλὰ φῆμαι μετέωροι καὶ τὸ βεβαιῶσον αὐτὰς οὐθὲν ἦν, ὠκνοῦμεν, ὦ βουλὴ, φέρειν τοὺς περὶ αὐτῶν λόγους εἰς μέσον,² ταραχάς τε ὑποπτεύοντες ἔσεσθαι μεγάλας, οἷα εἰκὸς ἐπὶ δεινοῖς ἀκούσμασι, καὶ δι' εὐλαβείας ἔχοντες μὴ ταχύτερα δόξωμεν ὑμῖν βεβουλεύσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ φρονιμώτερα. οὐ μὴν ὀλιγωρίᾳ γ' αὐτὰ παραδόντες ἀφήκαμεν, ἀλλ' ὅση δύναμις ἡμῖν ἦν ἐπιμελῆ ζήτησιν ἐποιούμεθα τῆς ἀληθείας ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡ τοῦ δαιμονίου πρόνοια, ὑφ' ἧς αἰὲν σωζόμεθα κοινῇ, καλῶς ποιούσα τὰ κεκρυμμένα βουλευμάτων καὶ τὰς ἀνοσίους ἐπιχειρήσεις τῶν θεοῖς ἐχθρῶν εἰς φῶς ἄγει, καὶ γράμματα πάρεστιν ἡμῖν αἰ δεδέγμεθα νεωστὶ παρὰ ξένων εὐνοίαν ἡμῖν ἐνδείκνυμένων, οὓς ὕστερον ἀκούσεσθε, καὶ συντρέχει τε καὶ συνάδει τοῖς ἔξωθεν ἐπιστελλομένοις τὰ ἐνθένδε μηνυόμενα, καὶ τὰ πράγματα οὐκέτι μέλλησιν οὐδ' ἀναβολὴν ἐν χερσὶν ὄντα ἐπιδέχεται, πρὶν εἰς τὸν δῆμον ἐξενεγκεῖν, ὑμῖν πρώτοις, ὥσπερ ἐστὶ δίκαιον, ἀπαγγεῖλαι³ διεγνώμεν αὐτά. ἵστε δὴ συνωμοσίαν ἐπὶ τῷ δήμῳ

¹ παρελθόντες B προσελθόντες A

BOOK X. 9, 7—10, 3

actually inside the city, in hiding, and was about to seize the most advantageous positions. While the whole city was shaken by expectation of these calamities and all men suspected and were on their guard against one another, the consuls assembled the senate, and the tribunes, going in, acquainted them with the reports that were being received. The one who addressed them on behalf of the others was Aulus Verginius, and he spoke as follows :

X. " As long as there seemed to us to be nothing definite about the dangers that were being reported, but there were only vague rumours and nothing to confirm them, we were reluctant, senators, to lay before you the reports about them, both because we suspected there would be great disturbances, as would be likely in a time of dreadful rumours, and also because we were afraid of appearing to you to have acted with greater precipitancy than prudence. We did not, however, ignore or neglect these reports, but inquired with all possible diligence into the truth of them. And since the divine providence, by which our commonwealth is ever preserved, is rightly bringing to light the hidden plans and wicked attempts of those who are enemies to the gods ; since we have letters, just now received from foreign friends, who thus show their goodwill to us and whose names you shall later hear ; since information given here at home coincides and agrees with the reports sent in from outside ; and since these matters no longer admit of delay or postponement, being at our very doors, we have decided to report them to you, as is proper, before laying them before the populace. Know, then, that a conspiracy has been formed

² εἰς μέσον B εἰς τὸ μέσον R

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γεγεννημένην ὑπ' ἀνδρῶν οὐκ ἀφανῶν, ἐν οἷς ἐνεῖναι μέν τι λέγεται μέρος οὐ πολὺ καὶ τῶν εἰς τόδε συλλεγομένων τὸ συνέδριον πρεσβυτέρων, τὸ δὲ πλεῖστον ἐκ τῶν ἔξω τῆς βουλῆς ἱππέων, οὓς οὐπω
 4 καιρὸς οἷτινές εἰσιν ὑμῖν λέγειν μέλλουσι δ' οὖν, ὥς πυνθανόμεθα, σκοταίαν φυλάξαντες νύκτα κοιμωμένοις ἡμῖν ἐπιχειρεῖν, ἥνίκα οὔτε προιδεῖν τι¹ τῶν γινομένων οὔτε φυλάξασθαι καθ' ἐν γενόμενοι δυνάμεθα· ἐπιπεσόντες δὲ ταῖς οἰκίαις τοὺς τε δημάρχους ἡμᾶς κατασφάττειν καὶ τῶν δημοτῶν ἄλλους τοὺς² ἐναντιωθέντας ποτὲ αὐτοῖς περὶ ἑλευ-
 5 θερίας ἢ τὸ λοιπὸν ἐναντιωσομένους. ὅταν δὲ ἡμᾶς ἐκποδῶν ποιήσωνται, τότε ἤδη κατὰ πολλὴν ἀσφάλειαν ἡγοῦνται διαπράξεσθαι³ παρ' ὑμῶν⁴ ἀναιρεθῆναι διὰ κοινοῦ ψηφίσματος τὰς γενομένας ὑμῖν πρὸς τὸν δῆμον ὁμολογίας. ὁρῶντες δὲ ὅτι ξενικῆς αὐτοῖς χειρὸς εἰς τὰ πράγματα δεῖ κρύφα παρασκευασθείσης καὶ οὐδὲ ταύτης μετρίας, ἄνδρα προσειλήφασιν εἰς ταῦτα τῶν ὑμετέρων⁵ φυγάδων Καίσωνα Κοῖντιον ἡγεμόνα, ὃν ἐπὶ φόνοις πολιτῶν καὶ διαστάσει τῆς πόλεως ἐξελεγχθέντα διεπράξαντό τινες τῶν ἐνθάδε μὴ δοῦναι δίκην, ἀλλ' ἀθῶον ἀπελθεῖν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως, κάθοδόν τε πράξειν ὑπέσχηνται καὶ ἀρχὰς προτείνονται⁶ καὶ τιμὰς καὶ
 6 ἄλλους μισθοὺς τῆς ὑπουργίας κακείνος ὑπέσχηται στρατιὰν⁷ αὐτοῖς Αἰκανῶν καὶ Οὐολούσκων

¹ τι B · om R

² τοὺς deleted by Jacoby, Reiske preferred to delete ἄλλους

³ Cobet διαπράξασθαι O, Jacoby.

⁴ τὰ λοιπὰ after ὑμῶν deleted by Cary (repeated from second line above)

⁵ ὑμετέρων B · ἡμετέρων A

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against the populace by men of prominence, among whom, it is said, there is a small number—not many—even of the older men who meet in this chamber, though the larger number are knights who are not members of the senate, whose names it is not yet the time to tell you. They intend, now, as we learn, to take advantage of a dark night and attack us while we are asleep, when we can neither provide against anything that is taking place nor get together in a body to defend ourselves, and, rushing into our houses, to cut the throats, not only of us tribunes, but of all the other plebeians also who have ever opposed them in defence of their liberty or may oppose them for the future. And after they have made away with us, they believe that then at last they will easily bring about the abrogation, by a unanimous vote on your part, of the compacts you made with the populace. But perceiving that they need for their purpose a body of foreign troops secretly got in readiness—and that no moderate force—they have to this end adopted as their leader one of your exiles, Caeso Quintius, a man whom, though convicted of the murder of his fellow citizens and of raising a sedition in the state, some of the members of this body contrived to save from paying the penalty, letting him go out of the city unharmed, and have promised to restore him to his country and are offering him magistracies and honours and other rewards for his help. And he on his part has promised to bring to their assistance as large a force of the Aequians

⁶ προτείνονται A. προτείνουσι R.

⁷ κακείνος ὑπέσχηται στρατιάν B · στρατιὰν δὲ κακείνος ὑπέσχηται R

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ἄξειν ἐπίκουρον ὅσης ἂν δεηθῶσιν ἥξει¹ τε οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν αὐτὸς μὲν ἐπαγόμενος τοὺς εὐτολμοτάτους κρύφα κατ' ὀλίγους εἰσάγων καὶ σποράδας, ἡ δ' ἄλλη δύναμις, ὅταν οἱ τοῦ δήμου προεσθηκότες ἡμεῖς διαφθαρῶμεν, ἐπὶ τὸ ἄλλο πλήθος τῶν πενήτων χωρήσει,² ἔάν τινες ἄρα περιέχωνται τῆς
7 ἑλευθερίας ταῦτ' ἐστὶν ἃ βεβούλευνται ὑπὸ σκότους καὶ μέλλουσι δρᾶν, ὧ βουλή, δεινὰ καὶ ἀνόσια ἔργα, οὔτε θεῖον φοβηθέντες χόλον οὔτε ἀνθρωπίνην ἐντραπέντες νέμεσιν

XI “ Ἐν τοσούτῳ δὴ κινδύνῳ σαλεύοντες ἰκέται γινόμεθα ὑμῶν, ὦ πατέρες, ἐπισκῆπτοντες θεοὺς τε καὶ δαίμονας οἷς κοινῇ θύομεν, καὶ πολέμων ὑπομιμνήσκοντες οὓς πολλοὺς καὶ μεγάλους σὺν ὑμῖν ἡράμεθα, μὴ περιδεῖν ὡμὰ καὶ ἀνόσια ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν παθόντας ἡμᾶς, ἀλλ' ἐπαμύναί τε καὶ συναγανακτῆσαι τιμωρίας ἡμῖν συνεισπράξαντας παρὰ τῶν ταῦτα βουλευσαμένων τὰς προσηκούσας, μάλιστα μὲν παρὰ πάντων, εἰ δὲ μὴ γε, παρὰ
2 τῶν ἀρξάντων τῆς ἀθεμίτου συνωμοσίας πρῶτον δὲ πάντων ἀξιοῦμεν ὑμᾶς, ὦ βουλή, ψηφίσασθαι πρᾶγμα ὅπερ ἐστὶ δικαιοτάτον, τὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν μηνομένων ζήτησιν ὑφ' ἡμῶν τῶν δημάρχων γίνεσθαι χωρὶς γὰρ τοῦ δικαίου καὶ ἀκριβεστάτας ἀνάγκη γίνεσθαι ζητήσεις ἃς ἂν οἱ κινδυνεύοντες
3 ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ποιήσωνται. εἰ δέ τινες ὑμῶν εἰσιν οἱοὶ μηδὲ καθ' ἓν εὐγνώμονεῖν, ἀλλὰ πρὸς ἅπαντας τοὺς ὑπὲρ τοῦ δήμου λέγοντας ἀντιτάττεσθαι, ἡδέως ἂν πυθοίμην παρ' αὐτῶν, ἐπὶ τῷ δυσχεραίνουσι τῶν ἀξιουμένων καὶ τί μέλλουσιν ὑμᾶς³

¹ ἥξει R . ἥξειν A.

² Portus χωρήσειν A, om B

³ Kiessling ἡμᾶς AB

and Volscians as they shall ask for. He himself will soon appear at the head of the most daring, whom he will introduce into the city secretly, a few at a time and in small bodies, the rest of the force, as soon as we who are the leaders of the populace are destroyed, will fall next upon the rest of the poor, if any of them cling to their liberty. These are the dreadful and wicked plans, senators, which they have concocted under cover of darkness and intend to carry out without either fearing the anger of the gods or heeding the indignation of men.

XI “Being tossed about on such a rough sea of perils, fathers, we come to you as suppliants, calling to witness the gods and lesser divinities to whom we sacrifice in common; and reminding you of the many great wars we have waged side by side with you, we implore you not to allow us to suffer this cruel and wicked fate at the hands of our enemies, but to assist us and share our indignation, joining with us in exacting suitable punishment from those who have formed these designs—from all of them preferably, but if that may not be, then at least from the authors of this nefarious conspiracy. First of all we ask, senators, that you will pass a measure that is in every respect just, to the effect that the investigation of the matters of which we have been informed shall be conducted by us, the tribunes. For, apart from the justice of this request, those investigations are bound to be strictest which are made by those whose own lives are in danger. If there are any among you who are not disposed to show a conciliatory spirit at all, but oppose every man who speaks in favour of the populace, I should like to inquire of them what there is in our demands that displeases them and what course

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πείθειν πότερα μηδεμίαν ποιεῖσθαι ζήτησιν, ἀλλ'
 ὑπεριδεῖν ἔργον οὕτω μέγα καὶ μαρὸν ἐπὶ τῷ δήμῳ
 συνιστάμενον; καὶ τίς ἂν τοὺς ταῦτα λέγοντας
 ὑγιαίνειν φήσειεν, ἀλλ' οὐχὶ συνδιεφθάρθαι καὶ
 κοινωνεῖν τῆς συνωμοσίας, ἔπειτα ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν
 δεδιότας, ἵνα μὴ γένωνται καταφανεῖς, ἀποσπεύδειν
 τὴν τῆς ἀληθείας ἐξέτασιν; οἷς οὐκ ἂν δικαίως
 4 προσέχοιτε δήπου τὸν νοῦν ἢ¹ τῆς διαγνώσεως
 τῶν μηνυομένων οὐχ ἡμᾶς εἶναι κυρίους ἀξιώσου-
 σιν, ἀλλὰ τὴν βουλὴν καὶ τοὺς ὑπάτους; τί οὖν τὸ
 κωλύον ἔσται τὸ αὐτὸ τοῦτο καὶ τοὺς προεσθηκότας
 τοῦ δήμου λέγειν, εἰάν τινες ἐκ τῶν δημοτικῶν ἐπὶ
 τοῖς ὑπάτοις καὶ τῇ βουλῇ συστάντες πράττωσι
 τὴν τοῦ συνεδρίου κατάλυσιν, ὅτι τὴν περὶ τῶν
 δημοτῶν ἐξέτασιν αὐτοὺς δίκαιόν ἐστι ποιεῖσθαι
 τοὺς ἀνειληφότας τὴν τοῦ δήμου φυλακὴν, τί οὖν
 ἐκ τούτου συμβήσεται, μηδεμίαν πώποτε² γενέ-
 σθαι ζήτησιν περὶ μηδενὸς πράγματος ἀπορρήτου.
 5 ἀλλ' οὐθ' ἡμεῖς ἂν ταῦτα ἀξιώσασαιμεν (ὑποπτος
 γὰρ ἡ φιλοτιμία) ὑμεῖς τ' οὐκ ἂν ὀρθῶς ποιοῖτε
 τοῖς τὰ ὅμοια ἀξιοῦσι³ καθ' ἡμῶν προσέχοντες τὸν
 νοῦν, ἀλλὰ κοινούς ἡγούμενοι τῆς πόλεως ἐχθρούς.
 οὐδενὸς μέντοιγε, ὦ βουλὴ, τοῖς πράγμασιν ὡς
 τάχους δεῖ. ὁ γὰρ κίνδυνος ὀξύς, καὶ ἡ μέλλη-
 σις τῆς ἀσφαλείας ἄωρος ἐν οὐ⁴ μέλλουσι δεινοῖς.
 ὥστ' ἀφέντες τὸ φιλονεικεῖν καὶ λόγους διεξιέναι
 μακροὺς ψηφίσασθε ὅ τι ἂν δοκῇ κοινῇ συμφέρειν
 ἡδῆ.

XII. Ταῦτα εἰπόντος αὐτοῦ πολλή τις ἔκπληξις

¹ ἢ B : εἰ δὲ μὴ που A ² πώποτε B · om. R
³ ἀξιοῦσι B οὐκ ἀξιοῦσι R.
⁴ οὐ Ba : οἷς ABb.

they intend to recommend to you Will it be to make no investigation whatever, but to ignore so awful and abominable a plot that is forming against the populace ? Yet who would say that those who take that line are honest, and are not rather tainted with the same corruption and sharers in the conspiracy. and then, because they are afraid they will be discovered, vigorously oppose the inquiry into the truth ? To such, surely, you would not rightly pay any heed Or will they demand that those who are to have authority to determine the truth of these reports shall be, not we, the tribunes, but the senate and the consuls ? What, then, is to prevent the leaders of the populace also from saying the same thing in case some plebeians, conspiring against the consuls and the senate, should plot the abolition of the latter—that, namely, the investigation of the plebeians would justly be made by the very men who have assumed the protection of the populace ? What, then, will be the consequence of this procedure ? Why, that no inquiry will ever be made into any secret matter But, just as we would never make this demand—for partisan zeal arouses suspicion—so you would not be doing right in paying heed to those who insist upon the same course against us ; on the contrary, you should look upon them as the common enemies of the state However, senators, nothing is so necessary in the present juncture as haste ; for the danger is acute, and delay in providing for our security is unseasonable in the presence of dangers that delay not. Do you, therefore, putting aside your rivalry and your long harangues, pass at once whatever decree seems conducive to the public good ”

XII. When he had thus spoken, great consterna-

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κατέσχε τὸ συνέδριον καὶ ἀμυχανία διελογίζοντό τε καὶ συνελάλουν ἀλλήλοις ὥς χαλεπὸν ἑκάτερον ἦν, καὶ τὸ συγχωρεῖν τοῖς δημάρχοις ζητήσεις ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν ποιεῖσθαι περὶ κοινοῦ καὶ μεγάλου πράγματος καὶ τὸ μὴ συγχωρεῖν.¹ ὑποπτεύσας δ' αὐτῶν τὴν γνώμην ἀνέστη τῶν ὑπάτων ἄτερος,² Γάιος Κλαύδιος, καὶ ἔλεξε τοιάδε·

- 2 “ Οὐ δέδοικα, Οὐεργίνιε, μή με ὑπολάβωσιν οὔτοι κοινωνὸν εἶναι τῆς συνωμοσίας ἣν ἐφ' ὑμῖν καὶ τῷ δήμῳ πράττεσθαι λέγετε, εἴτα³ ὑπὲρ ἑμαντοῦ δεδιότα ἢ τῶν ἐμῶν τινος ἐνόχου⁴ ταῖς αἰτίαις ὄντος⁵ ἀνεστάναι τάναντία ὑμῖν ἐροῦντα· ὁ γὰρ βίος ἀπολύει με πάσης ὑποψίας τοιαύτης. ἃ δὲ νομίζω τῇ τε βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ συμφέρειν, ἀπὸ τοῦ
- 3 κρατίστου καὶ δίχα πάσης εὐλαβείας ἐρῶ πολλοῦ, μᾶλλον δὲ τοῦ παντός, ἀμαρτάνειν δοκεῖ μοι Οὐεργίνιος, εἴ τινα ὑπέιληφεν ἡμῶν ἐρεῖν ἢ ὥς ἀνεξέταστον ἀφεῖσθαι δεῖ πρᾶγμα οὕτως⁶ μέγα καὶ ἀναγκαῖον, ἢ ὥς οὐ δεῖ κοινωνεῖν οὐδὲ παρεῖναι τῇ ζητήσῃ τοὺς ἀνειληφότας τὴν τοῦ δήμου ἀρχὴν οὔθεις οὔτε ἡλίθιος ἐστὶν οὕτως οὔτε τῷ δήμῳ
- 4 κακόνους ὥστε ταῦτα λέγειν τί οὖν, εἴ τις ἔροικό με,⁷ παθὼν, ἃ συγχωρῶ καὶ φημι δίκαια εἶναι, τούτοις ἀντιλέξων ἀνέστην, καὶ τί βούλεται μοι ὁ λόγος, ἐγὼ νῆ Δία φράσω πρὸς ὑμᾶς παντὸς οἴομαι δεῖν πράγματος, ὦ βουλή, τὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ τὰς πρώτας ὑποθέσεις τοὺς εὖ φρονοῦντας ἀκριβῶς σκοπεῖν οἶαι γὰρ ἂν αὐταὶ τύχῳσιν οὔσαι, τοιούτους ἀνάγκη γίνεσθαι καὶ τοὺς περὶ αὐτῶν λόγους.

¹ συγχωρεῖν A : om B

² ἄτερος B ἕτερος R

³ εἴτα Post · ἢ τὰ O, ἦτοι Cobet, ἢ Jacoby

⁴ ἐνόχου B ὥς ἐνόχου R

⁵ ὄντος B οὕτως A.

tion and embarrassment came upon the senate. They discussed and talked over with one another the difficulty of either course—either to grant or to refuse the tribunes permission to make investigations by themselves of a matter of general concern and great importance. And one of the consuls, Gaius Claudius, suspecting their intentions, rose up and spoke as follows

“ I am not afraid, Verginius, that these men here will imagine that I am an accomplice in the conspiracy which you say is being formed against you and the populace, and that then, out of fear for myself or for some relation of mine who is guilty of this charge, I have risen to oppose you ; for the whole course of my life clears me of any suspicion of the sort. But what I consider to be advantageous for both the senate and the people I will say in all good faith and without reservation. Verginius seems to me to be greatly, or rather totally, mistaken if he imagines that any of us will say either that a matter of so great importance and necessity ought to be left uninvestigated or that the magistrates of the populace ought not to take part in or be present at the inquiry. No man is so foolish or so ill-disposed toward the populace as to say that. If, then, anyone should ask me what possessed me to rise up to oppose those measures which I agree to and admit to be just, and what my purpose is in speaking, by Heaven I will tell you. I believe, senators, that sensible men ought to examine minutely the beginnings and basic principles of every measure ; for of whatever nature these may be, such also must be all discussion about

⁶ οὕτως B : οὕτως ἄν A, Jacoby

⁷ εἰ τις ἐποιεῖ με deleted by Cobet

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- 5 φέρε δὴ, τίς ἡ τοῦδε τοῦ πράγματος ὑπόθεσις ἐστὶ καὶ τί τὸ βούλευμα¹ τῶν δημάρχων, ἀκούσατέ μου. οὐκ ἐνῆν τούτοις οὐδὲν ὦν ἐν τῷ παρελθόντι ἐν-
 αὐτῷ πράττειν ἐπιβαλλόμενοι διεκωλύθησαν, ἐπι-
 τελέσασθαι νῦν ὑμῶν τε ἐναντιουμένων αὐτοῖς ὡς
 πρότερον καὶ τοῦ δήμου μηκέθ' ὁμοίως συναγωνι-
 ζομένου συνιδόντες δὴ τοῦτο ἐσκόπουν ὅπως ἂν
 ὑμεῖς τ' ἀναγκασθείητε παρὰ γνώμην αὐτοῖς εἶξαι
 καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἅπαντα ὅσ' ἂν ἀξιῶσι² συμπράττειν.
- 6 ἀληθῆ μὲν οὖν καὶ δικαίαν ὑπόθεσιν οὐδεμίαν εὖ-
 ρισκον δι' ἧς ἐκάτερον τούτων³ ἔσται, πολλὰ δὲ
 βουλεύματα πειράζοντες καὶ στρέφοντες ἄνω καὶ
 κάτω τὸ πρᾶγμα τελευτῶντες ἐπὶ τοιοῦτον δὴ τινα
 λογισμόν ἤλθον· αἰτιασώμεθα συνίστασθαί τινας
 ἐκ τῶν ἐπιφανῶν ἐπὶ καταλύσει τοῦ δήμου καὶ
 σφάττειν διεγνωκέναι τοὺς παρέχοντας⁴ αὐτῷ τὸ
- 7 ἀσφαλές καὶ ταῦτα ἐκ πολλοῦ παρασκευάσαντες
 λέγεσθαι κατὰ τὴν πόλιν, ὅταν ἤδη πιστὰ εἶναι τοῖς
 πολλοῖς δόξη⁵—δόξει δὲ διὰ τὸ δέος—ἐπιστολὰς
 μηχανησώμεθα πολλῶν παρόντων ἡμῖν ὑπ' ἀνδρὸς
 ἀγνώτος ἀναδοθῆναι· ἔπειτ' ἐλθόντες ἐπὶ τὸ συν-
 ἔδριον ἀγανακτῶμέν τε καὶ σχετλιάζωμεν καὶ τοῦ
 ζητεῖν τὰ προσηγγελμένα αἰτῶμεν⁶ τὴν' ἐξουσίαν.
- 8 ἐάν τε⁸ γὰρ ἀντιλέγωσιν ἡμῖν οἱ πατρίκιοι, ταύτην
 ληψόμεθα τοῦ διαβαλεῖν αὐτοὺς πρὸς τὸν δῆμον
 ἀφορμήν, καὶ οὕτως ἅπαν τὸ δημοτικὸν ἡγριωμένον
 αὐτοῖς ἔτοιμον ἡμῖν εἰς αἶ βουλόμεθα ὑπάρξει· ἐάν
 τε συγχωρῶσι, τοὺς γενναιοτάτους ἐξ αὐτῶν καὶ

¹ Sylburg βούλημα O

² ἀξιῶσι Ba ἀξιώση ABb

³ τούτων, (or αὐτοῖς) Cary τούτοις O, Jacoby

⁴ τοὺς παρέχοντας Ba τοὺς μὴ παρέχοντας R

⁵ δόξη A . δοκῇ B

⁶ αἰτῶμεν B δῶμεν R.

them. Well then, learn from me what the basic principle of this measure is and what the purpose of the tribunes is. These men would not be able to carry out now any of the undertakings they were prevented from accomplishing last year if both you were to oppose them as before and the populace were no longer to espouse their quarrel with the same zeal. Since they were aware of these difficulties, they considered by what means not only you might be compelled to yield to them contrary to your judgement, but the populace also might be forced to assist them in everything they should desire. But finding no true or just basis for gaining both these ends, after trying various plans and turning the matter this way and that, they at last hit upon some such reasoning as this: 'Let us accuse some prominent men of a conspiracy to overthrow the power of the populace and of having decided to cut the throats of those who assure the safety of the populace. And after we have contrived to have these reports talked about for a long time throughout the city and when the multitude at last believe them to be trustworthy—and they will do so because of their fear—let us devise a way to have letters delivered to us in the presence of many by an unknown person. Then let us go to the senate, express our indignation, make angry complaints and demand authority to investigate the reports. For if the patricians oppose our demand, we will seize this opportunity to malign them before the populace, and by this means the whole body of the plebeians will become enraged against them and will be ready to support us in everything we desire, and, on the other hand, if they grant it, let us banish those

⁷ τῇν B : om. R

⁸ τε B · om. R

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πλείστα ἡμῖν ἐναντιωθέντας πρεσβυτέρους τε καὶ νέους ἐλαύνωμεν, ὥς εὐρηκότες ταῖς αἰτίαις ἐνόχους.
 9 ἐκεῖνοι δὲ ἄρα τὰς καταγνώσεις δεδιότες ἢ συμβή-
 σονται πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἐπὶ τῷ μῆθ' ἔτι ἀντιπράττειν
 ἢ καταλιπεῖν ἀναγκασθήσονται τὴν πόλιν ἐκ δὲ
 τούτου πολλὴν ποιήσομεν ἐρημίαν τοῦ ἀντιπάλου.'

XIII "Ταῦτα τὰ βουλευμάτα ἦν αὐτῶν, ὧ βου-
 λή, καὶ τὸν μεταξὺ χρόνον ὃν ἐωρᾶτε συνεδρεύ-
 οντας¹ αὐτοὺς οὗτος ὁ δόλος ὑπ' αὐτῶν ὑφαίνετο
 ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀρίστοις ὑμῶν, καὶ τοῦτο τὸ δίκτυον κατὰ
 τῶν εὐγενεστάτων² ἱππέων ἐπλέκετο καὶ ὅτι
 ἀληθῆ ταῦτ' ἐστὶ βραχείος μοι πάνυ δεῖ λόγου
 2 φέρε γὰρ εἶπατέ μοι, Οὐεργίνιε, οἱ τὰ δεινὰ πεισό-
 μενοι, παρὰ τίνων ἐδέξασθε τὰ γράμματα ξένων,
 τῶν ποῦ κατοικούντων, ἢ πόθεν ὑμᾶς εἰδόντων, ἢ
 πῶς τὰνθάδε συνεδρευόμενα ἐπισταμένων, τί ἀνα-
 βάλλεσθε καὶ μετὰ ταῦτ' ἐρεῖν αὐτοὺς ὑπισχνείσθε,
 ἀλλ' οὐ πάλαί λέγετε, τίς δ' ὁ τὰ γράμματα
 κομίσας ὑμῖν ἀνὴρ ἐστὶ, τί οὐ κατάγετε αὐτὸν εἰς
 μέσον, ἵν' ἀπ' ἐκείνου πρῶτον ἀρξώμεθα ζητεῖν εἴτε
 ἀληθῆ ταῦτ' ἐστίν, εἴτε, ὥς ἐγὼ φημι, πλάσματα
 3 ὑμέτερα; αἱ δὲ δὴ συνάδουσαι τοῖς ξενικοῖς γράμ-
 μασι μηνύσεις παρὰ τῶν ἐνθάδε τίνες τ' εἰσὶ καὶ
 ὑπὸ τίνων γενόμεναι, τί κρύπτετε τὰς πίστεις,
 ἀλλ' οὐκ εἰς τὸ ἐμφανὲς ἄγετε, ἀλλ' οἶμαι τῶν
 μῆτε γενομένων μῆτε ἐσομένων ἀδύνατον εὑρεθῆ-
 4 ναι πίστιν. ταῦτ' ἐστίν, ὧ βουλὴ, μηνύματα, οὐ
 κατὰ τούτων συνωμοσίας, ἀλλὰ καθ' ὑμῶν³ δόλου

¹ συνεδρεύοντας B συμβουλευόντας καὶ συνεδρεύοντας R.

² εὐγενεστάτων B · εὐαγεστάτων R ³ ὑμῶν A ἡμῶν B

of them who are of the most noble birth and have opposed us the most, both older men and young, as persons we have discovered to be guilty of the charge. These men, then, in their fear of being condemned, will either come to terms with us to make no further opposition or else will be compelled to leave the city. By this means we shall thoroughly devastate the opposition.

XIII "These were then plans, senators, and during the time you saw them holding sessions this plot was being spun by them against the best of your members and this net was being woven against the noblest of the knights. To prove that this is true requires very few words on my part. For come, tell me, Verginius and you others who are to suffer these dreadful evils, who are the foreign friends from whom you received the letters? Where do they live? How did they become acquainted with you? Or by what means do they know what is being discussed here? Why do you defer naming these men and keep promising to do it later on, instead of having named them long since? And who is the man who brought the letters to you? Why do you not bring him before us, that we may begin first of all with him to pursue the inquiry whether these reports are true or, as I maintain, your own fictions? And the informations that come from persons here, which you say agree with the foreign letters, what are they and by whom given? Why do you conceal the proofs and not bring them to light? But I suspect it is impossible to find proof of such things as neither have happened nor will happen. These are indications, senators, not of a conspiracy against the tribunes here, but of treachery and an evil purpose against you

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- καὶ πονηρᾶς γνώμης, ἣ κέχρηται κρύψαντες οὗτοι· τὰ γὰρ πράγματα αὐτὰ βοᾷ. αἵτιοι δ' ὑμεῖς οἱ τὰ πρῶτα ἐπιτρέψαντες αὐτοῖς καὶ τὸ ἀνόητον τῆς ἀρχῆς μεγάλη καθοπλίσαντες ἐξουσία, ὅτε Κοῖντιον Καίσιωνα τῷ παρελθόντι ἐνιαυτῷ κρίνειν ἐπ' αἰτίαις ψευδέσιν εἰάσατε, καὶ τοσοῦτον φύλακα τῆς ἀριστοκρατίας ἀναρπαζόμενον¹ ὑπ' αὐτῶν περιείδετε.
- 5 τοιγαροῦν οὐκέτι μετριάξουσιν οὐδὲ καθ' ἓνα τῶν εὐγενῶν περικόπτουσιν, ἀλλ' ἀθρόους² ἤδη περιβαλόντες τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς ἐλαύνουσιν³ ἐκ τῆς πόλεως καὶ πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις κακοῖς οὐδ' ἀντειπεῖν αὐτοῖς ἀξιούσιν οὐθένα ὑμῶν, ἀλλ' εἰς ὑποψίας καὶ διαβολὰς ἄγοντες ὡς κοινωνοῦντα τῶν ἀπορρητῶν δεδίττονται καὶ μισόδημον εὐθύς εἶναί φασι, καὶ προλέγουσιν ἥκειν ἐπὶ τὸν δῆμον ὑφέξοντα τῶν
- 6 ἐνθάδε ῥηθέντων δίκας. ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ μὲν τούτων ἕτερος ἔσται καιρὸς ἐπιτηδειότερος τοῖς λόγοις, νυνὶ δὲ συντεμῶ⁴ τὸν λόγον καὶ παύσομαι τὰ πλείω διατεινόμενος, φυλάττεσθαι ὑμῖν παραινῶν⁵ τοὺςδε τοὺς ἄνδρας ὡς συνταράττοντας τὴν πόλιν καὶ μεγάλων ἐκφέροντας⁶ ἀρχὰς κακῶν καὶ οὐκ ἐνθάδε μὲν ταῦτα λέγω, πρὸς δὲ τὸν δῆμον ἀποκρύψομαι, ἀλλὰ κακεῖ παρρησίᾳ δικαίᾳ χρήσομαι, διδάσκων ὡς οὐδὲν αὐτοῖς ἐπικρέμαται δεινὸν ὅτι μὴ κακοὶ καὶ δόλιοι προστάται πολεμίων ἔργα ἐν προσποιήματι φίλων διαπραττόμενοι ”.
- 7 Ταῦτ' εἰπόντος τοῦ ὑπάτου κραυγὴ τε καὶ πολὺς ἔπαινος ἐκ τῶν παρόντων ἐγένετο,⁷ καὶ οὐδὲ λόγου

¹ Hertlein, Cobet · ἀρπαζόμενον O

² Kiessling · ἀθρόως O ³ Cobet : ἔλκουσιν O

⁴ συντεμῶ Steph : συντέμω AB.

⁵ Kiessling παραινῶ O.

which these men have been secretly cherishing. For the facts themselves cry aloud. But you senators are to blame for this, since you made the first concessions to them and armed their senseless magistracy with great power when you permitted Caeso Quintius to be tried by them last year on false charges and permitted so great a defender of the aristocracy to be destroyed by them. For this reason they no longer show any moderation nor do they lop off the men of birth one by one, but are already rounding up the good men *en masse* and expelling them from the city. And, in addition to all the other evils, they demand that no one of you even speak in opposition to them, but by exposing him to suspicions and accusations as an accomplice in those secret plots they try to terrify him and promptly call him an enemy of the populace and cite him to appear before their assembly to stand trial for what he has said here. But another occasion will be more suitable for discussing this matter. For the present I will curtail my remarks and will cease running on at greater length, merely advising you to guard against these men as disturbers of the commonwealth and as publishing ¹ the germs of great evils. And not here alone do I say these things, while intending to conceal them from the populace; on the contrary, I shall there also employ a frankness that is merited, showing them that no mischief hangs over their heads unless it be wicked and deceitful leaders who under the guise of friendship are doing the deeds of enemies."

When the consul had thus spoken, there was shouting and much applause by all present; and without

¹ Or, following Kiessling's emendation, "introducing"

⁶ εἰσφέροντας Kiessling

⁷ ἐγένετο ABb

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τοῖς δημάρχοις ἔτι μεταδόντες διέλυσαν τὸν σύλλογον. ἔπειθ' ὁ μὲν Οὐεργίνιος ἐκκλησίαν συναγαγὼν κατηγορεῖ τῆς τε βουλῆς καὶ τῶν ὑπάτων, ὁ δὲ Κλαύδιος ἀπελογεῖτο τοὺς αὐτοὺς λόγους διεξιὼν οὓς εἶπεν ἐπὶ τῆς βουλῆς οἱ μὲν οὖν ἐπιεικέστεροι τῶν δημοτικῶν κενὸν ὑπώπτειον εἶναι τὸν φόβον, οἱ δ' εὐθέςτεροι πιστεύοντες ταῖς φήμαις ἀληθῆ· ὅσοι δὲ κακοήθεις ἦσαν ἐν αὐτοῖς καὶ μεταβολῆς αἰεὶ δεόμενοι, τοῦ μὲν ἐξετάζειν τάληθές ἢ τὸ ψεῦδος¹ οὐκ εἶχον πρόνοιαν, ἀφορμὴν δὲ διχοστασίας ἐζήτουν καὶ θορύβου

XIV. Ἐν τοιαύτῃ δὲ ταραχῇ τῆς πόλεως οὗσης ἀνὴρ τις ἐκ τοῦ Σαβίνων ἔθνους πατέρων τε οὐκ ἀφανῶν καὶ χρήμασι δυνατός, Ἀππίος Ἐρδώνιος ὄνομα, καταλῦσαι τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμονίαν ἐπεβάλετο εἶθ' ἑαυτῷ τυραννίδα κατασκευαζόμενος εἴτε τῷ Σαβίνων ἔθνει πράττων ἀρχὴν καὶ κράτος εἴτ' ὀνόματος ἀξιωθῆναι βουλόμενος μεγάλου κοινωσάμενος δὲ πολλοῖς τῶν φίλων ἦν εἶχε διάνοιαν καὶ τὸν τρόπον τῆς ἐπιχειρήσεως ἀφηγησάμενος, ἐπειδὴ κακείνοις ἐδόκει, συνήθροιζε τοὺς πελάτας καὶ τῶν θεραπόντων οὓς εἶχε τοὺς² εὐτολμοτάτους καὶ δι' ὀλίγου χρόνου συγκροτήσας δύναμιν ἀνδρῶν τετρακισχίλιων μάλιστα, ὅπλα τε καὶ τροφὰς καὶ τὰλλα ὅσων δεῖ πολέμῳ πάντα εὐτρεπισάμενος, εἰς² σκάφας ποταμηγοὺς ἐνεβάλετο. πλεύσας δὲ διὰ τοῦ Τεβέριος ποταμοῦ προσέσχε τῆς Ῥώμης κατὰ τοῦτο τὸ χωρίον ἔνθα τὸ Καπιτώλιόν ἐστιν οὐδ' ὅλον στάδιον ἀπέχον τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἦσαν δὲ μέσαι τηνικαῦτα νύκτες, καὶ πολλὴ καθ' ὅλην τὴν πόλιν

¹ ἢ τὸ ψεῦδος Cary · ἢ ψεῦδος O, Jacoby, om. Cobet.

² τοὺς Reiske : om. O, Jacoby.

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even permitting the tribunes to reply, they dismissed the session. Then Verginius, calling an assembly of the populace, inveighed against both the senate and the consuls, and Claudius defended them, repeating the same things he had said in the senate. The more fair-minded among the plebeians suspected that their fear was unwarranted, while the more simple-minded, giving credence to the reports, thought it real, but all among them who were ill-disposed and were forever craving a change did not have the foresight to examine into the truth or falsehood of the reports, but sought an occasion for sedition and tumult.

XIV. While the city was in such turmoil,¹ a man of the Sabine race, of no obscure birth and powerful because of his wealth, Appius Herdonius by name, attempted to overthrow the supremacy of the Romans, with a view either of making himself tyrant or of winning dominion and power for the Sabine nation or else of gaining a great name for himself. Having revealed his purpose to many of his friends and explained to them his plan for executing it, and having received their approval, he assembled his clients and the most daring of his servants and in a short time got together a force of about four thousand men. Then, after supplying them with arms, provisions and everything else that is needed for war, he embarked them on river-boats and, sailing down the river Tiber, landed at that part of Rome where the Capitol stands, not a full stade distant from the river. It was then midnight and there was profound quiet throughout

¹ For chaps. 14-16 *cf.* Livy iii 15, 5-18, 11.

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ἡσυχία, ἣν συνεργὸν λαβὼν ἐξεβίβασε τοὺς ἄνδρας κατὰ σπουδὴν καὶ διὰ τῶν ἀκλείστων πυλῶν (εἰσὶ γάρ τινες ἱερὰι πύλαι τοῦ Καπιτωλίου κατὰ τι θέσφατον ἀνειμέναι, Καρμεντίδας¹ αὐτὰς καλοῦσιν) ἀναβιβάσας τὴν δύναμιν εἰλε² τὸ φρούριον ἐκεῖθεν δ' ἐπὶ τὴν ἄκραν ὠσάμενος—ἔστι δὲ τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ
 3 προσεχῆς—κάκείνης ἐγεγόνει κύριος. ἦν δὲ αὐτοῦ γνώμη μετὰ τὸ κρατῆσαι τῶν ἐπικαιροτάτων τόπων τοὺς τε φυγάδας εἰσδέχεσθαι καὶ τοὺς δούλους εἰς ἐλευθερίαν καλεῖν καὶ χρεῶν ἄφεσιν ὑπισχνεῖσθαι τοῖς ἀπόροις τοὺς τε ἄλλους πολίτας, οἳ ταπεινὰ πράττοντες διὰ φθόνου καὶ μίσους εἶχον τὰς ὑπεροχὰς καὶ μεταβολῆς ἄσμενοι ἂν ἐλάβοντο, κοινωνοὺς ποιεῖσθαι τῶν ὠφελειῶν. ἡ δὲ θαρρεῖν τε αὐτὸν ἐπαγομένη καὶ πλανῶσα ἐλπίς, ὥς οὐθενὸς ἀτυχήσοντα τῶν προσδοκωμένων, ἡ πολιτικὴ στάσις ἦν, δι' ἣν οὔτε φιλίαν οὔτε κοινωνίαν οὐδεμίαν³ ὑπελάμβανε τῷ δήμῳ πρὸς τοὺς πατρικίους ἔτι
 4 γενήσεσθαι. εἰ δὲ ἄρα μὴτὲν αὐτῷ τούτων κατὰ νοῦν χωρῇ, τῆνικαῦτα Σαβίνους τε πανστρατιᾷ καλεῖν ἐδέδοκτο καὶ Οὐολούσκους καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πλησιοχώρων ὅσοις ἂν ἦ βουλομένοις ἀπηλλάχθαι τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἐπιφθόνου ἀρχῆς.

XV. Συνέβη δὲ αὐτῷ πάντων διαμαρτεῖν ὧν ἥλπισεν οὔτε δούλων αὐτομολησάντων πρὸς αὐτὸν οὔτε φυγάδων κατελθόντων οὔτε ἀτίμων καὶ καταχρέων τὸ ἴδιον κέρδος ἀντὶ τοῦ κοινῇ συμφέροντος ἀλλαξαμένων, τῆς τε ἔξωθεν ἐπικουρίας οὐ λαβοῦσης χρόνον ἱκανὸν εἰς παρασκευὴν τοῦ πολέμου

¹ Kiessling (cf. Plut. Cam. 25, 2) · καρμεντίνας O.

² Kiessling : εἶχε O, Jacoby.

³ οὐδεμίαν om B

the entire city ; with this to help him he disembarked his men in haste, and passing through the gate which was open (for there is a certain sacred gate of the Capitol, called the porta Carmentalis, which by the direction of some oracle is always left open), he ascended the hill with his troops and captured the fortress. From there he pushed on to the citadel, which adjoins the Capitol, and took possession of that also. It was his intention, after seizing the most advantageous positions, to receive the exiles, to summon the slaves to liberty, to promise the needy an abolition of debts, and to share the spoils with any other citizens who, being themselves of low condition, envied and hated those of lofty station and would have welcomed a change. The hope that both inspired him with confidence and deceived him, by leading him to believe that he should fail of none of his expectations, was based on the civil dissension, because of which he imagined that neither any friendship nor any intercourse would any longer exist between the populace and the patricians. And if none of these expectations should turn out according to his wish, he had resolved in that event to call in not only the Sabines with all their forces, but also the Volscians and as many from the other neighbouring peoples as desired to be delivered from the hated domination of the Romans.

XV It so happened, however, that all his hopes were disappointed ; for neither the slaves deserted to him nor did the exiles return nor did the unenfranchised and the debtors seek their private advantage at the expense of the public good, and the reinforcements from outside did not have time enough to pre-

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τρισὶ γὰρ ἢ τέτταρσι ταῖς πάσαις¹ ἡμέραις τέλος
 εἰλήφει τὰ πράγματα μέγα δέος καὶ πολλὴν ταρα-
² χὴν Ῥωμαίοις παρασχόντα. ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἑάλω τὰ
 φρούρια, κραυγῆς ἄφνω γενομένης καὶ φυγῆς τῶν
 περὶ ἐκείνους οἰκούντων τοὺς τόπους ὅσοι μὴ
 παραχρῆμα ἐσφάγησαν, ἀγνοοῦντες οἱ πολλοὶ τὸ
 δεινὸν ὃ τι ποτ' ἦν, ἀρπάσαντες τὰ ὄπλα συνέτρε-
 χον, οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ τὰ μετέωρα χωρία τῆς πόλεως, οἱ
 δ' εἰς τοὺς ἀναπεπταμένους αὐτῆς τόπους πολλοὺς
 σφόδρα ὄντας, οἱ δ' εἰς τὰ παρακείμενα πεδία
 ὅσοι δ' ἡλικίας ἐν τῷ παρηκμακότῳ ἦσαν καὶ ῥώ-
 μης σώματος ἐν τῷ ἀδυνάτῳ τὰ τέγη τῶν οἰκιῶν
 κατεῖχον ἅμα γυναιξὶν ὥς ἀπὸ τούτων ἀγωνιού-
³ μενοι πρὸς τοὺς εἰσεληλυθότας· ἅπαντα γὰρ αὐτοῖς
 ἐδόκει μεστὰ εἶναι πολέμου. ἡμέρας δὲ γενομένης
 ὥς ἐγνώσθη τὰ κεκρατημένα τῆς πόλεως φρούρια
 καὶ ὅστις ἦν ὁ κατέχων ἀνὴρ τοὺς τόπους, οἱ μὲν
 ὑπατοὶ προελθόντες εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐκάλουν τοὺς
 πολίτας ἐπὶ τὰ ὄπλα, οἱ δὲ δήμαρχοι προσκαλεσά-
 μενοι τὸν δῆμον εἰς ἐκκλησίαν ἔλεγον ὅτι τῷ μὲν
 συμφέροντι τῆς πόλεως οὐδὲν ἀξιούσι πράττειν ἐν-
 αντίον, δίκαιον δὲ ὑπολαμβάνουσιν εἶναι τηλικού-
 τον ἀγῶνα μέλλοντα τὸν δῆμον ὑπομένειν ἐπὶ ῥητοῖς
 τισι καὶ διωρισμένοις ἐπὶ τὸ κινδύνευμα χωρεῖν.
⁴ “Εἰ μὲν οὖν,” ἔφασαν λέγοντες, “ὑπισχνοῦνται
 τε ὑμῖν οἱ πατρίκιοι καὶ πίστει βούλονται δοῦναι
 τὰς ἐπὶ θεῶν ὅτι καταλυθέντος τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου
 συγχωρήσουσιν ὑμῖν ἀποδείξαι νομοθέτας καὶ τὸν
 λοιπὸν χρόνον ἐν ἰσηγορίᾳ πολιτεύεσθαι, συνελευ-
 θερῶμεν αὐτοῖς τὴν πατρίδα· εἰ δὲ οὐθὲν ἀξιούσι
 ποιεῖν τῶν μετρίων, τί κινδυνεύομεν καὶ τὰς ψυχὰς
 ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν προιέμεθα μηθενὸς ἀγαθοῦ μέλλοντες

pare for war, since within three or four days all told the affair was at an end, after causing the Romans great fear and turmoil. For upon the capture of the fortresses, followed by a sudden outcry and flight of all those living near those places—save those who were slain at once—the mass of the citizens, not knowing what the peril was, seized their arms and rushed together, some hastening to the heights of the city, others to the open places, which were very numerous, and still others to the plains near by. Those who were past the prime of life and were incapacitated in bodily strength occupied the roofs of the houses together with the women, thinking to fight from there against the invaders, for they imagined that every part of the city was full of fighting. But when it was day and it came to be known what fortresses of the city were taken and who the person was who had possession of them, the consuls, going into the Forum, called the citizens to arms. The tribunes, however, summoned the populace to an assembly and declared that, while they did not care to do anything opposed to the advantage of the commonwealth, they thought it just, when the populace were going to undertake so great a struggle, that they should go to meet the danger upon fixed and definite terms. “If, therefore,” they went on to say, “the patricians will promise you, and are willing to give pledges, confirmed by oaths, that as soon as this war is over they will allow you to appoint lawgivers and for the future to enjoy equal rights in the government, let us assist them in freeing the fatherland. But if they consent to no reasonable conditions, why do we incur danger and give up our lives for them, when we are to reap

¹ *πάσαις* Naber : *πρώταις* O, Jacoby.

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5 ἀπολαύσεσθαι, ” ταῦτα λεγόντων αὐτῶν καὶ τοῦ
 δήμου πειθομένου καὶ μηδὲ φωνὴν ὑπομένοντος
 ἀκούειν τῶν ἄλλο τι παραινούντων ὁ μὲν Κλαύδιος
 οὐθὲν ἡξίου δεῖσθαι τοιαύτης¹ συμμαχίας, ἥτις οὐχ
 ἐκούσιος ἀλλ’ ἐπὶ μισθῷ καὶ οὐδὲ τούτῳ μετρίῳ
 βοηθεῖν βούλεται τῇ πατρίδι, ἀλλ’ αὐτοὺς ἔφη τοὺς
 πατρικίους ἑαυτῶν σώμασι καὶ τῶν συνόντων αὐ-
 τοῖς πελατῶν ὀπλισαμένους, καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο πλήθος
 ἐθελούσιον αὐτοῖς συναρεῖται² τοῦ πολέμου, μετὰ
 τούτων πολιορκεῖν τὰ φρούρια ἐὰν δὲ μηδ’ οὕτως
 ἀξιόχρεως ἢ δύναμις αὐτοῖς εἶναι δοκῇ, Λατίνους
 τε καὶ Ἑρνίκας παρακαλεῖν, ἐὰν δ’ ἀνάγκη, καὶ
 δούλοις ἐλευθερίαν ὑπισχνεῖσθαι καὶ πάντας μᾶλλον
 ἢ τοὺς ἐπὶ τοιούτων καιρῶν μνησικακοῦντας σφίσι
 6 παρακαλεῖν. ὁ δ’ ἕτερος τῶν ὑπάτων Οὐαλέριος
 ἀντέλεγε πρὸς ταῦτα οὐκ οἰόμενος δεῖν ἡρεθισμένον
 τὸ δημοτικὸν ἐκπολεμῶσαι τελέως τοῖς πατρικίοις,
 εἰξαί τε συνεβούλευε τῷ καιρῷ καὶ πρὸς μὲν τοὺς
 ἔξωθεν πολεμίους³ τά γε δίκαια ἀντιτάττειν, πρὸς
 δὲ τὰς πολιτικὰς διατριβὰς⁴ τὰ μέτρια καὶ εὐγνώ-
 7 μονα. ἐπειδὴ δὲ τοῖς πλείοσι τῶν ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ
 τὰ κράτιστα ἐδόκει λέγειν, προελθὼν⁵ εἰς τὴν ἐκ-
 κλησίαν καὶ λόγον εὐπρεπῇ διεξελθὼν τελευτῶν
 τῆς δημηγορίας ὤμοσεν, ἐὰν ὁ δῆμος συνάρηται
 μετὰ προθυμίας τοῦ πολέμου καὶ καταστῇ τὰ πράγ-
 ματα τῆς πόλεως, συγχωρήσειν τοῖς δημάρχοις
 προθεῖναι⁶ τῷ πλήθει τὴν περὶ τοῦ νόμου διάγνωσιν

¹ τοιαύτης B τῆς τοιαύτης R.

² συναρεῖται Ba (2) : συνάρηται ABb.

³ πολέμους Kiessling

⁴ διαφορὰς or παρατριβὰς Reiske, ξριδας Cobet

⁵ προελθὼν B : παρελθὼν R

⁶ προθεῖναι Ba : προσθεῖναι R.

no advantage ? ” While they were speaking thus and the people were persuaded and would not listen to even a word from those who offered any other advice, Claudius declared that he had no use for such allies, who were not willing to come to the aid of the fatherland voluntarily, but only for a reward, and that no moderate one, but the patricians by themselves, he said, taking up arms in their own persons and in the persons of the clients who adhered to them, joined also by any of the plebeians who would voluntarily assist them in the war, must with these besiege the fortresses. And if even so their force should seem to them inadequate, they must call on the Latins and the Hernicans, and, if necessary, must promise liberty to the slaves and invite all sorts of people rather than those who harboured a grudge against them in times like these. But the other consul, Valerius, opposed this, believing that they ought not to render the plebeians, who were already exasperated, absolutely implacable against the patricians, and he advised them to yield to the situation, and while arraying against their foreign foes the demands of strict justice, to combat the long-winded discourses of their fellow citizens with terms of moderation and reasonableness. When the majority of the senators decided that his advice was the best, he appeared before the popular assembly and made a decorous speech, at the end of which he swore that if the people would assist in this war with alacrity and conditions in the city should become settled, he would permit the tribunes to lay before the populace for decision the law which they were trying to introduce concerning an equality

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ὃν εἰσέφερον ὑπὲρ τῆς ἰσονομίας, καὶ σπουδάσειν ὅπως ἐπὶ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ ἀρχῆς ἐπὶ τέλος ἀχθῇ τὰ δόξαντα τῷ δήμῳ. ἦν δὲ ἄρα οὐθὲν αὐτῷ πε-
πρωμένον ἐπιτελέσαι τῶν ὁμολογηθέντων πλησίον οὔσης τῆς τοῦ θανάτου μοίρας

XVI. Λυθείσης δὲ τῆς ἐκκλησίας περὶ δειλὴν ὀψίαν συνέρρεον ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀποδειχθέντας ἕκαστοι τόπους, ἀπογραφόμενοι τε πρὸς τοὺς ἡγεμόνας τὰ ὀνόματα καὶ τὸν στρατιωτικὸν ὁμνύντες ὄρκον ἐκείνην μὲν οὖν τὴν ἡμέραν καὶ τὴν ἐπιούσαν νύκτα ὅλην ἀμφὶ ταῦτα ἦσαν, τῇ δ' ἐξῆς ἡμέρᾳ λοχαγοί τε προσενέμοντο ὑπὸ τῶν ὑπάτων καὶ ἐπὶ¹ τὰς ἱερὰς ἐτάττοντο σημείας, συνεπιρρέοντος καὶ τοῦ
2 κατ' ἀγροὺς διατρίβοντος ὄχλου. γενομένων δὲ διὰ τάχους ἀπάντων² εὐτρεπῶν μερισάμενοι τὰς δυνάμεις οἱ ὑπατοὶ κλήρῳ διείλοντο τὰς ἀρχάς. Κλαυδίων μὲν οὖν ὁ κλήρος ἀπέδωκε τὰ πρὸ τῶν τειχῶν διὰ φυλακῆς ἔχειν, μὴ τις ἔξωθεν ἐπέλθῃ στρατιὰ τοῖς ἔνδον ἐπικούρος· ὑποψία γὰρ ἅπαντας κατεῖχε μεγάλης σφόδρα κινήσεως, καὶ τὸ ἀντίπαλον ἅπαν ὥς ὁμοῦ συνεπιθησόμενον σφίσιν ἐφοβοῦντο. Οὐα-
3 ἐτάχθησαν δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐρύμασιν ἡγεμόνες ὅσα τῆς πόλεως ἐντὸς ἦν καθέζοντες, καὶ κατὰ τὰς ἐπὶ τὸ Καπιτώλιον ἀγούσας ὁδοὺς ἕτεροι κωλύσεως ἕνεκεν τῶν ἀποστησομένων πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους δούλων τε καὶ ἀπόρων, ὃ γε³ παντὸς μάλιστα ἐφοβοῦντο. ἐπικουρικὸν δὲ αὐτοῖς οὐδὲν ἔφθασε παρὰ τῶν συμμάχων ἀφικόμενον ὅτι μὴ παρὰ Τυσκλανῶν μόνον ἐν μιᾷ νυκτὶ ἀκουσάντων τε καὶ παρασκευασαμένων, οὓς ἦγε Λεύκιος Μαρμί-

¹ ὑπὸ Sylburg.

² Kiessling πάντων O, Jacoby

of laws, and would use his utmost endeavours that their vote should be carried into effect during his consulship. But it was fated, it seems, that he should perform none of these promises, the doom of death being near at hand for him.

XVI After the assembly had been dismissed in the late afternoon, they all flocked to their appointed places, giving in their names to the generals and taking the military oath. During that day, then, and all the following night they were thus employed. The next day the centurions were assigned by the consuls to their commands and to the sacred standards, and the crowd which lived in the country also in great numbers flocked in. Everything being soon made ready, the consuls divided the forces and drew lots for their commands. It fell to the lot of Claudius to keep guard before the walls, lest some army from outside should come to the relief of the enemy in the city; for everybody suspected that there would be a very serious turmoil, and they feared that all their foes would fall upon them at the same time with united forces. To Valerius Fortune assigned the siege of the fortresses. Commanders were appointed to occupy the other strong places also that lay within the city, and others were posted in the streets leading to the Capitol, to prevent the slaves and the poor from going over to the enemy—the thing of which they were most afraid. No assistance reached them in time from any of their allies save only from the Tusculans,¹ who, the same night they heard of the invasion, had made ready to march, their com-

¹ For the part played by the Tusculans cf LIVY III 18, 1-7, 10.

³ δ γε Capps, δ Gelenius οὔς O, Jacoby

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λιος, ἀνὴρ δραστήριος, ἔχων τὴν μεγίστην ἐν τῇ
 πόλει τότε ἀρχήν· καὶ συνεκινδύνεον οὗτοι τῷ
 Οὐαλερίῳ μόνοι καὶ συνεξείλον τὰ φρούρια πᾶσαν
 4 εὐνοίαν καὶ προθυμίαν ἀποδειξάμενοι ἐγένετο¹ δ'
 ἡ προσβολὴ τοῖς φρουρίοις πανταχόθεν· οἱ μὲν γὰρ
 ἀπὸ τῶν πλησίον οἰκιῶν ἀσφάλτου καὶ πίσσης
 πεπυρωμένης ἀγγεῖα σφενδόνας ἐναρμόττοντες
 ἐπέβαλλον ὑπὲρ τῶν λόφων²· οἱ δὲ συμφοροῦντες³
 αὐτῶν⁴ φακέλλους φρυγάνων καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ἀπο-
 τόμοις τῆς πέτρας θωμοὺς⁵ ἐγείροντες ὑψηλοὺς
 ὑψήπτων ἀνέμῳ παραδιδόντες τὰς φλόγας ἐπιφόρῳ
 ὅσοι δ' ἦσαν ἀνδρειότατοι, πυκνώσαντες τοὺς λό-
 χους ἐχώρουν ἄνω κατὰ τὰς χειροποιήτους ὁδοὺς.
 5 ἦν δ' αὐτοῖς οὔτε τοῦ πλήθους, ᾧ παρὰ πολὺ τῶν
 ἀντιπάλων προεῖχον, ὄφελος οὐθέν διὰ στενῆς
 ἀνιοῦσιν ὁδοῦ καὶ πληθούσης προβόλων ἄνωθεν
 ἐπικαταραττομένων, ἔνθα συνεξισωθήσεσθαι ἔμελλε
 τῷ πολλῷ τὸ ὀλίγον· οὔτε τῆς παρὰ τὰ δεινὰ ὑπο-
 μονῆς, ἣν πολλοῖς κατασκήσαντες⁶ πολέμοις εἶχον,
 οὐδεμία ὄνησις πρὸς ὀρθίους βιαζομένοις σκοπᾶς.
 οὐ γὰρ συστάδην μαχομένους ἔδει τὸ εὐτολμον καὶ
 καρτερικὸν ἀποδείξασθαι, ἀλλ' ἐκηβόλοις χρῆσθαι
 6 μάχαις ἦσαν δὲ τῶν μὲν κάτωθεν ἐπὶ τὰ μετέ-
 ωρα βαλλομένων βραδεῖαί τε καὶ ἀσθενεῖς, εἰ καὶ
 τύχοιεν, ὥσπερ εἰκός, αἱ πληγαὶ τῶν δ' ἀφ'
 ὕψους κάτω ρίπτουμένων ὀξεῖαι καὶ καρτεραὶ συν-

¹ ἐγένετο A : ἐγίνετο B

² ὑπὲρ τῶν λόφων B · ὑπὲρ τὸν λόφον R (?), Jacoby, ἐπὶ τὸν
 λόφον Reiske.

³ συμφοροῦντες A · συμφέροντες B.

⁴ αὐτῶν Kiessling : αὐτῶν A, om. B.

⁵ θωμοὺς Capps · βωμοὺς O, Jacoby.

mander being Lucius Mamilius, a man of action, who held the chief magistracy in their city at that time. These alone shared the danger with Valerius and aided him in capturing the fortresses, displaying all goodwill and alacrity. The fortresses were attacked from all sides; some of the attackers, fitting vessels of bitumen and burning pitch to their slings, hurled them over the hills from the roofs of neighbouring houses, and others, gathering bundles of dry faggots, raised lofty heaps of them against the steep parts of the cliff and set them on fire when they could commit the flames to a favourable wind. All the bravest of the troops, closing their ranks, went up by the roads that had been built to the summits. But neither their numbers, in which they were greatly superior to the enemy, were of any service to them when they were ascending by a narrow road, full of broken fragments of rock that came crashing down upon them from above, where a small body of men would be a match for a large one, nor was their constancy in dangers, which they had acquired by their training in many wars, of any advantage to them when forcing their way up steep heights. For it was not a situation that called for the display of the daring and perseverance of hand-to-hand fighting, but rather for the tactics of fighting with missiles. Moreover, the blows made by missiles shot from below up to lofty targets were slow on arrival and ineffective, naturally, even if they hit their mark, while the blows of missiles hurled down from above came with high speed and violence, the very weight of the weapons contributing to the

⁶ κατασκήσαντες Post, ἀσκήσαντες Kiessling καταστήσαντες O, Jacoby.

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εργούντων τοῖς βλήμασι καὶ τῶν ἰδίων βαρῶν¹ οὐ μὴν ἔκαμνον γε οἱ προσβάλλοντες τοῖς ἐρύμασιν, ἀλλὰ διεκαρτέρουν ἀναγκοφαγούντες² τὰ δεινὰ οὔτε ἡμέρας οὔτε νυκτὸς ἀναπαυόμενοι τῶν πόνων. τέλος δ' οὖν ὑπολιπόντων τοὺς πολιορκουμένους τῶν βελῶν καὶ τῶν σωμάτων ἐξαδυνατούντων τρίτη 7 τὰ φρούρια ἐξεπολιόρκησαν ἡμέρα. ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ μάχῃ πολλοὺς Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ ἀγαθοὺς ἄνδρας ἀπέβαλον, κράτιστον δέ, ὥσπερ πρὸς ἀπάντων ὡμολόγητο,³ τὸν ὕπατον· ὃς οὐκ ὀλίγα τραύματα λαβὼν οὐδ' ὥς ἀφίστατο τῶν δεινῶν ἕως ἐπικαταραγείς⁴ αὐτῷ πέτρος ὑπερμεγέθης ἐπιβαίνουντι τοῦ περιτειχίσματος ἅμα τὴν τε νίκην αὐτὸν ἀφείλετο καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν ἀλίσκομένων δὲ τῶν φρουρίων ὁ μὲν Ἑρδώνιος, ἦν γὰρ καὶ ῥώμη σώματος διάφορος καὶ κατὰ χεῖρα γενναῖος, ἀπιστόν τι χρῆμα περὶ αὐτὸν ποιήσας νεκρῶν ὑπὸ πλήθους βελῶν ἀποθνήσκει, τῶν δὲ σὺν αὐτῷ τὰ φρούρια καταλαβομένων ὀλίγοι μὲν τινες ζῶντες ἐάλωσαν, οἱ δὲ πλείους σφάττοντες ἑαυτοὺς ἢ κατὰ τῶν κρημνῶν ὠθοῦντες διεφθάρησαν.

XVII Τοῦτο τὸ τέλος λαβόντος τοῦ ληστρικοῦ πολέμου τὴν πολιτικὴν πάλιν ἀνερρίπιζον⁵ οἱ δῆμαρχοι στάσιν ἀξιοῦντες ἀπολαβεῖν παρὰ τοῦ περιόντος ὑπάτου τὰς ὑποσχέσεις ἃς ἐποίησατο πρὸς αὐτοὺς ὁ τεθηγκὼς ἐν τῇ μάχῃ Οὐαλέριος ὑπὲρ τῆς εἰσφορᾶς τοῦ νόμου ὁ δὲ Κλαύδιος μέχρι μὲν τινος παρεῖλκε τὸν χρόνον, τοτὲ μὲν καθαρμούς τῆς πόλεως ἐπιτελῶν, τοτὲ δὲ θυσίας τοῖς θεοῖς χα-

¹ βαρῶν B · βαρημάτων R

² Cohet · ἀναγκοφοροῦντες O.

³ ὡμολογεῖτο Naber

force with which they were thrown. Nevertheless, the men attacking the ramparts were not discouraged, but bravely endured the hard utions of unavoidable dangers, ceasing not from their toils either by day or by night. At last, when the missiles of the besieged gave out and their strength failed them, the Romans reduced the fortresses on the third day. In this action they lost many brave men, among them the consul, who was universally acknowledged to have been the best of them all; he, even after he had received many wounds, did not retire from danger until a huge rock, crashing down upon him as he was mounting the outer wall, snatched from him at once the victory and his life. As the fortresses were being taken, Herdonius, who was remarkable for his physical strength and brave in action, after piling up an incredible heap of dead bodies about him, perished under a multitude of missiles. Of those who had aided him in seizing the fortresses some few were taken alive, but the greater part either killed themselves with their swords or hurled themselves down the cliffs.

XVII. The war¹ with the brigands being thus ended, the tribunes rekindled the civil strife once more by demanding of the surviving consul the fulfilment of the promises made to them by Valerius, who perished in the fighting, with regard to the introduction of the law. But Claudius for a time kept procrastinating, now by performing lustrations for the city, now by offering sacrifices of thanksgiving to the

¹ Cf. Livy iii 19, 1-3

⁴ Cobet ἐπικαταπαγείς O.
Sylburg · ἀνερίπτουν Ba, ἀνερίπτουν R

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ριστηρίους ἀποδιδούς, τότε δ' ἀγῶσι καὶ θέαις
 2 ἀναλαμβάνων τὸ πλῆθος εἰς εὐπαθείας. ὥς δ' αἱ
 σκήψεις αὐτῷ πᾶσαι κατανάλωντο, τελευτῶν ἔφη
 δεῖν εἰς τὸν τοῦ τεθνηκότος ὑπάτου τόπον ἕτερον
 ἀποδειχθῆναι. τὰ μὲν γὰρ ὑφ' ἑαυτοῦ μόνου πραχ-
 θέντα οὔτε νόμιμα οὔτε βέβαια ἔσεσθαι, τὰ δ' ὑπ'
 ἀμφοῖν ἔννομά τε καὶ κύρια. ταύτῃ διακρουσάμενος
 αὐτοὺς τῇ προφάσει προεῖπεν ἀρχαιρεσίων ἡμέραν
 ἐν ἣ τὸν συνάρχοντα ἔμελλεν ἀποδείξειν. ἐν δὲ
 τῷ μεταξύ χρόνῳ δι' ἀπορρήτων βουλευμάτων οἱ
 προεστηκότες τοῦ συνεδρίου συνέθεντο κατὰ σφᾶς
 3 αὐτοὺς ὅτῳ παραδώσουσι τὴν ἀρχήν. καὶ ἐπει-
 δὴ¹ ὁ τῶν ἀρχαιρεσίων ἐνέστη χρόνος καὶ ὁ κῆρυξ
 τὴν πρώτην τάξιν ἐκάλεσεν, εἰσελθόντες εἰς τὸν
 ἀποδειχθέντα τόπον οἱ τ' ὀκτωκαίδεκα λόχοι τῶν
 ἱππέων καὶ οἱ τῶν πεζῶν ὀγδοήκοντα τῶν τὸ μέ-
 γιστον τίμημα ἐχόντων Λεύκιον Κοῖντιον Κικιν-
 νᾶτον ἀποδεικνύουσιν ὑπατον, οὗ τὸν υἱὸν Καίσωνα
 Κοῖντιον εἰς ἀγῶνα θανάτου καταστήσαντες οἱ
 δήμαρχοι τὴν πόλιν ἠνάγκασαν ἐκλιπεῖν· καὶ οὐδε-
 μιᾶς ἔτι κληθείσης ἐπὶ τὴν ψηφοφορίαν τάξεως
 (τρισι γὰρ ἦσαν λόγοις πλείους οἱ διενέγκαντες τὴν
 ψῆφον λόγοι τῶν ὑπολειπομένων²) ὁ μὲν δῆμος
 ἀπῆιε συμφορὰν βαρεῖαν ἡγούμενος ὅτι μισῶν αὐ-
 τοὺς ἀνὴρ ἐξουσίας ὑπατικῆς ἔσται κύριος, ἢ βουλή
 δὲ ἔπεμπε τοὺς παραληψομένους τὸν ὑπατον³ καὶ
 4 ἄζοντας ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχήν. ἔτυχε δὲ τηνικαῦτα ὁ Κοῖν-
 τιος ἄρουράν τινα ὑπεργαζόμενος εἰς σποράν, αὐτὸς
 ἀκολουθῶν τοῖς σχίζουσι τὴν νειὸν βοιδίοις ἀχίτων,

¹ καὶ ἐπειδὴ B : ἐπειδὴ δὲ R.

² Kiessling : ἀπολειπομένων O.

³ ὑπατον O : ἄνδρα Kiessling.

BOOK X 17, 1-4

gods, and again by entertaining the multitude with games and shows. When all his excuses had been exhausted, he finally declared that another consul must be chosen in place of the deceased ; for he said that the acts performed by him alone would be neither legal nor lasting, whereas those performed by two of them would be legitimate and valid. Having put them off with this pretence, he appointed a day for the election, when he would nominate his colleague. In the meantime the leading men of the senate, consulting together in private, agreed among themselves upon the person to whom they would entrust the magistracy. And when the day appointed for the election had come and the herald had called the first class, the eighteen centuries of knights together with the eighty centuries of foot, consisting of the wealthiest citizens, entering the appointed place, chose as consul Lucius Quinctius Cincinnatus, whose son Caeso Quinctius the tribunes had brought to trial for his life and compelled to leave the city. And no other class being called to vote—for the centuries which had voted were three more in number than the remaining centuries—the populace departed, regarding it as a grievous misfortune that a man who hated them was to be possessed of the consular power. Meanwhile the senate sent men to invite the consul and to conduct him to the city to assume his magistracy. It chanced that Quinctius was just then ploughing a piece of land for sowing,¹ he himself following the gaunt oxen that were breaking up the fallow ; he had no tunic on, wore a small loin-cloth

¹ Compare LIVY'S description (iii 26, 8 ff.) of Cincinnatus' humble activities at the time of his appointment to the dictatorship ; see also *inf* chaps 23, 5-24, 2.

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περιζωμάτιον ἔχων καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ πῖλον. ἰδὼν
 δὲ πλῆθος ἀνθρώπων εἰς τὸ χωρίον εἰσιόντων τό
 τε ἄροτρον ἐπέσχε καὶ πολὺν ἡπόρει χρόνον οἵ-
 τινές τε¹ εἶεν καὶ τίνος δεόμενοι πρὸς αὐτὸν ἦκοιεν
 ἔπειτα προσδραμόντος τινὸς καὶ κελεύσαντος κοσμι-
 ῶτερον ἑαυτὸν ποιῆσαι παρελθὼν εἰς τὴν καλύβην
 5 καὶ ἀμφιεσάμενος προῆλθεν οἱ δ' ἐπὶ τὴν παρά-
 ληψιν αὐτοῦ παρόντες ἡσπάσαντό τε ἅπαντες οὐκ
 ἐκ τοῦ ὀνόματος, ἀλλ' ὕπατον, καὶ τὴν περιπόρφυ-
 ρον ἐσθῆτα περιέθεσαν τοὺς τε πελέκεις καὶ τᾶλλα
 παράσημα τῆς ἀρχῆς παραστήσαντες ἀκολουθεῖν
 εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἡξίου. κακείνος μικρὸν ἐπισχὼν καὶ
 δακρύσας² τοσοῦτον εἶπεν· “ Ἀσπορον ἄρα μοι τὸ
 χωρίον ἔσται τοῦτον τὸν ἐνιαυτόν, καὶ κινδυνεύσο-
 μεν οὐχ ἔξιν πόθεν διατραφῶμεν ” ἔπειτα ἀσπα-
 σάμενος τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ τῶν ἔνδον ἐπιμελεῖσθαι
 6 παραγγείλας ὥχετο εἰς τὴν πόλιν. ταῦτα δὲ οὐχ
 ἐτέρου τινὸς χάριν εἰπεῖν προήχθη, ἀλλ' ἵνα φανε-
 ρὸν γένηται πᾶσιν οἱοὶ τότε ἦσαν οἱ τῆς Ῥωμαίων
 πόλεως προεσθηκότες, ὥς αὐτουργοὶ καὶ σώφρονες
 καὶ πενίαν δικαίαν οὐ βαρυνόμενοι καὶ βασιλικὰς
 οὐ διώκοντες ἐξουσίας, ἀλλὰ καὶ διδομένας ἀναινό-
 μενοι· φανήσονται γὰρ οὐδὲ κατὰ μικρὸν ἐοικότες
 ἐκείνοις οἱ νῦν, ἀλλὰ τάναντία πάντα ἐπιτηδεύοντες,
 πλὴν πάνυ ὀλίγων, δι' οὓς ἔστηκεν ἔτι τὸ τῆς
 πόλεως ἀξίωμα καὶ τὸ σώζειν τὴν πρὸς ἐκείνους
 τοὺς ἄνδρας ὁμοιότητα ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τούτων
 αἴλις.

XVIII. Ὁ δὲ Κοῖντιος παραλαβὼν τὴν ὑπατείαν
 πρῶτον μὲν ἔπαυσε τοὺς δημάρχους τῶν καινῶν
 πολιτευμάτων καὶ τῆς ἐπὶ τῷ νόμῳ σπουδῆς, προ-

¹ τε B : om R

² Cobet διαδακρύσας O.

and had a cap upon his head. Upon seeing a crowd of people come into the field he stopped his plough and for a long time was at a loss to know who they were or what they wanted of him; then, when some one ran up to him and bade him make himself more presentable, he went into the cottage and after putting on his clothes came out to them. Thereupon the men who were sent to escort him all greeted him, not by his name, but as consul; and clothing him with the purple-bordered robe and placing before him the axes and the other insignia of his magistracy, they asked him to follow them to the city. And he, pausing for a moment and shedding tears, said only this. "So my field will go unsown this year, and we shall be in danger of not having enough to live on." Then he kissed his wife, and charging her to take care of things at home, went to the city. I am led to relate these particulars for no other reason than to let all the world see what kind of men the leaders of Rome were at that time, that they worked with their own hands, led frugal lives, did not chafe under honourable poverty, and, far from aiming at positions of royal power, actually refused them when offered. For it will be seen that the Romans of to-day do not bear the least resemblance to them, but follow the very opposite practices in everything—with the exception of a very few by whom the dignity of the commonwealth is still maintained and a resemblance to those men preserved. But enough on this subject.

XVIII Quintius,¹ having succeeded to the consulship, caused the tribunes to desist from their new measures and from their insistence upon the proposed

¹ For chaps 18 f *cf* Livy III. 19, 4—21, 8.

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ειπὼν ὡς εἰ μὴ παύσονται ταραττοντες τὴν πόλιν ἀπάξει Ῥωμαίους ἅπαντας ἐκ τῆς πόλεως στρα-
 2 τείαν κατὰ Οὐλολούςκων παραγγείλας. ἐπεὶ δὲ κωλύσειν αὐτὸν ἔλεγον οἱ δῆμαρχοι στρατοῦ ποι-
 εῖσθαι καταγραφὴν, συναγαγὼν τὸ πλῆθος εἰς ἐκκλησίαν εἶπεν ὅτι πάντες ὁμωμόκασι τὸν στρατι-
 ωτικὸν ὄρκον ἀκολουθήσειν τοῖς ὑπάτοις ἐφ' οὓς ἂν καλῶνται πολέμους καὶ μήτε ἀπολείψειν τὰ
 σημεῖα μήτε ἄλλο πράξειν μηθὲν ἐναντίον τῷ νόμῳ·
 παραλαβὼν δὲ τὴν ὑπατικὴν ἐξουσίαν αὐτὸς ἔχειν
 3 ἔφη κρατούμενους ἅπαντας τοῖς ὅρκοις. εἰπὼν δὲ ταῦτα καὶ διομοσάμενος χρήσεσθαι¹ τῷ νόμῳ κατὰ
 τῶν ἀπειθούντων ἐκέλευσεν ἐκ τῶν ἱερῶν τὰ σημεῖα
 καταφέρειν. “Καὶ ἴνα,” ἔφη, “πᾶσαν ἀπογνῶτε
 δημαγωγίαν ἐπὶ τῆς ἐμῆς ὑπατείας, οὐ πρότερον
 ἀναστήσω τὸν στρατὸν ἐκ τῆς πολεμίας πρὶν ἢ πᾶς
 ὁ τῆς ἀρχῆς μοι διέλθῃ χρόνος ὡς οὖν ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ
 χειμάσσοντες παρασκευάσασθε τὰ εἰς ἐκείνον τὸν
 4 καιρὸν ἐπιτήδεια.” τούτοις καταπληξάμενος αὐ-
 τοὺς τοῖς λόγοις, ἐπειδὴ κοσμιωτέρους εἶδε γεγονό-
 τας καὶ δεομένους ἀφεθῆναι τῆς στρατείας, ἐπὶ
 τούτοις ἔφη χαριεῖσθαι τὰς ἀναπαύλας τῶν πολέ-
 μων, ἐφ' ᾧ τε μηθὲν ἔτι παρακινεῖν αὐτούς, ἀλλ'
 εἶαν αὐτὸν ὡς βούλεται τὴν ἀρχὴν τελεῖσθαι,² καὶ
 ἐπὶ τῷ τὰ δίκαια διδόναι τε καὶ λαμβάνειν παρ'
 ἀλλήλων.

XIX. Καταστάντος δὲ τοῦ θορύβου δικαστήριά
 τε ἀπεδίδου τοῖς δεομένοις ἐκ πολλῶν παρελκυσ-
 μένα χρόνων, καὶ τὰ πλεῖστα τῶν ἐγκλημάτων
 αὐτὸς ἴσως καὶ δικαίως διέκρινε δι' ὅλης³ ἡμέρας

¹ Steph.² : χρήσασθαι O

² τελέσαι Reiske.

law by announcing that if they did not cease disturbing the commonwealth he would give notice of an expedition against the Volscians and would lead all the Romans out of the city. When the tribunes said they would not permit him to enrol an army, he called an assembly of the populace and declared that since they had all taken the military oath, swearing that they would follow the consuls in any wars to which they should be called and would neither desert the standards nor do anything else contrary to law, and since he had assumed the consular power, he held them all bound to him by their oaths. Having said this and sworn that he would invoke the law against those who disobeyed, he ordered the standards to be brought out of the temples. "And to the end," he added, "that you may renounce all agitation by demagogues during my consulship, I will not withdraw the army from the enemy's country until my whole term of office has expired. Expect therefore, to pass the winter in the field and prepare everything necessary against that time." Having terrified them with these threats, when he saw that they had become more orderly and begged to be let off from the campaign, he said he would grant them a respite from war upon these conditions, that they create no more disturbances but allow him to administer his office as he wished to the end, and that in their dealings with one another they give as well as receive strict justice.

XIX The tumult having been appeased, he restored to all plaintiffs recourse to courts of law, a matter for a long time delayed, and he himself decided most suits, with fairness and justice, sitting

³ ὁλῆς B : ὁλῆς τῆς R.

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ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος καθεζόμενος, εὐπρόσδοόν τε καὶ
 πρᾶον καὶ φιλάνθρωπον τοῖς ἐπὶ τὴν δικαιοδοσίαν
 ἀφικνουμένοις ἑαυτὸν παρέιχε καὶ παρεσκεύασεν
 ἀριστοκρατικὴν οὕτως φανῆναι τὴν πολιτείαν ὥστε
 μήτε δημάρχων δεηθῆναι τοὺς διὰ πενίαν ἢ δυσ-
 γένειαν ἢ ἄλλην τινὰ ταπεινότητα ὑπὸ τῶν κρειτ-
 τόνων κατισχυομένους μήτε καινῆς νομοθεσίας
 πόθον ἔχειν ἔτι τοὺς ἐν ἰσηγορίᾳ πολιτεύεσθαι βου-
 λομένους,¹ ἀλλ' ἀγαπᾶν τε καὶ χαίρειν ἅπαντας ἐπὶ
 2 τῇ τότε κατασχούσῃ τὴν πόλιν εὐνομίᾳ. ταῦτά τε
 δὴ τὰ ἔργα τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἐπηνείτο² ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου,
 καὶ ἐπεὶ τὸν ὠρισμένον ἐτέλεσε τῆς ἀρχῆς χρόνον
 τὸ μὴ δέξασθαι τὴν ὑπατείαν διδομένην τὸ δεύτε-
 ρον μηδὲ ἀγαπήσαι τηλικαύτην λαμβάνοντα τιμὴν.
 3 κατεῖχε γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῆς ὑπατικῆς ἐξουσίας ἡ
 βουλὴ πολλὰς προσφέρουσα δεήσεις, ἐπεὶ τὸ τρίτον
 οἱ δήμαρχοι διεπράξαντο μὴ ἀποθέσθαι τὴν ἀρχήν,
 ὡς ἐναντιωσόμενον αὐτοῖς καὶ παύσοντα τῶν και-
 νῶν πολιτευμάτων, τὰ μὲν αἰδοῖ, τὰ δὲ φόβῳ, τὸν
 δὲ δῆμον ὀρώσα οὐκ ἀναινόμενον ὑπ' ἀνδρὸς ἀγαθοῦ
 ἄρχεσθαι. ὁ δ' οὔτε τῶν δημάρχων ἐπαινεῖν ἔφη
 τὸ ἀπαραχώρητον τῆς ἐξουσίας οὔτε αὐτὸς εἰς
 4 ὁμοίαν ἐκείνοις ἤξειν διαβολήν. συναγαγὼν δὲ τὸν
 δῆμον εἰς ἐκκλησίαν καὶ πολλὴν κατηγορίαν τῶν
 οὐκ ἀποτιθεμένων τὰς ἀρχὰς διαθέμενος ὄρκους τε
 διομοσάμενος ἰσχυροὺς περὶ τοῦ μὴ λήψεσθαι πάλιν
 τὴν ὑπατείαν πρὶν ἀποθέσθαι τὴν προτέραν ἀρχήν,
 προεῖπεν ἀρχαιρεσίῳ ἡμέραν· ἐν ᾗ καταστήσας

¹ πολιτεύεσθαι βουλομένους B : πολιτευομένους R

² ἐπηνείτο B : ἐπηνείτο δ' R

¹ "Aristocracy" is here used in its literal meaning of "government by the best (citizens)."

BOOK X 19, 1-4

on the tribunal the whole day and showing himself easy of access, mild and humane to all who came to him for judgement. By this means he made the government seem so truly an aristocracy¹ that neither tribunes were needed by those who through poverty, humble birth or any other point of inferiority were oppressed by their superiors, nor was any desire for new legislation longer felt by those who wished for a government based on equal rights; but all were contented and pleased with the law and order which then came to prevail in the commonwealth. Not only for these actions was Quintus praised by the populace, but also for refusing the consulship when, upon his completion of the appointed term of office, it was offered to him a second time, and for not even being pleased when that great honour was tendered him. For the senate attempted to retain him in the consulship, using many entreaties, because the tribunes for the third time had so managed that they did not have to lay down their office, for they were confident that he would oppose the tribunes and make them drop their new measures, partly out of respect and partly out of fear, and they also saw that the populace did not refuse to be governed by a good man. But Quintus answered that he not only did not approve of this unwillingness on the part of the tribunes to give up their power, but he would not himself incur the same censure as they had. Then he called an assembly of the populace, and having inveighed in a long speech against those who would not resign their magistracies, and taken solemn oaths with reference to his refusal to take the consulship again before he had retired from his first term, he announced a day for the election, then on the ap-

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ὑπάτους ἀπῆει πάλιν εἰς τὸ μικρὸν ἐκείνο καλύβιον καὶ τὸν αὐτουργὸν ἔζη βίον ὡς πρότερον.

- XX Κοῦντου δὲ Φαβίου Οὐιβολανοῦ παρειλη-
 φότης τὴν ὑπατείαν τὸ τρίτον καὶ Λευκίου Κορ-
 νηλίου καὶ τελούντων πατρίους ἀγῶνας Αἰκανῶν
 ἄνδρες ἐπίλεκτοι πλῆθος ἀμφὶ τοὺς ἑξακισχιλίους
 ὀπλισμῷ τ' εὐζώνῳ συνεσταλμένοι καὶ ἐν νυκτὶ
 ποιησάμενοι τὴν ἑξοδὸν σκότους ἔτι ὄντος ἐπὶ πόλιν
 ἀφικνοῦνται Τυσκλανῶν, ἥ ἐστι μὲν τοῦ Λατίνων
 ἔθνους, ἀφέστηκε δὲ τῆς Ῥώμης οὐκ ἔλαττον
 2 σταδίων ἑκατόν. εὐρόντες δὲ ὡς ἐν εἰρήνῃ πύλας
 τε ἀκλείστους καὶ τεῖχος ἀφύλακτον αἰρουῦσι τὴν
 πόλιν ἐξ ἐφόδου μνησικακοῦντες τοῖς Τυσκλανοῖς
 ὅτι τῇ Ῥωμαίων πόλει τά τε ἄλλα μετὰ προθυμίας
 συμπράττοντες διετέλουν καὶ ἐν τῇ πολιορκίᾳ τοῦ
 3 Καπιτωλίου μόνοι συνήραντο τοῦ πολέμου ἄνδρας
 μὲν¹ οὖν οὐ² πολλοὺς τινας ἐν τῇ καταλήψει διέφθει-
 ραν, ἀλλ' ἔφθασαν ἤδη αὐτοὺς ὑπὸ τὴν ἄλωσιν τῆς
 πόλεως ὠσάμενοι δι' ἄλλων πυλῶν³ οἱ ἔνδον, χωρὶς
 ἢ ὅσοι ὑπὸ νόσων ἢ γήρως φυγεῖν ἀδύνατοι ἦσαν,
 γύναια δὲ καὶ παιδία καὶ θεράποντας αὐτῶν ἦν-
 4 δραποδίσαντο καὶ τὰ χρήματα διήρπασαν ὡς δ'
 ἀπηγγέλθη τὸ δεινὸν εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην ἐκ τῶν δια-
 φυγόντων ἐκ τῆς ἀλώσεως, οἱ μὲν ὑπατοὶ βοηθεῖν
 ᾤοντο δεῖν τοῖς φυγάσι κατὰ τάχος καὶ τὴν πόλιν
 αὐτοῖς ἀποδιδόναι, ἀντέπραττον δὲ οἱ δήμαρχοι
 στρατιὰν οὐκ ἔωντες καταγράφειν ἕως ἂν ἡ περὶ
 τοὺς νόμους διενεχθῇ ψήφος ἀγανακτοῦσης δὲ τῆς

¹ ἄνδρας μὲν B · καὶ ἄνδρας A

² οὖν οὐ Cary, οὐ Reiske οὖν B, om. A.

³ δι' ἄλλων πυλῶν Cobet, διὰ τῶν ἐναντίων πυλῶν Reiske
 διὰ τῶν πυλῶν O, Jacoby.

pointed day having named the consuls, he returned to that little cottage of his and lived, as before, the life of a farmer working his own land

XX. Quintus Fabius Vibulanus¹ (for the third time) and Lucius Cornelius having succeeded to the consulship and being employed in exhibiting the traditional games, a chosen body of the Aequians, amounting to about six thousand men and lightly equipped, set out from their confines by night and came, while it was still dark, to the city of Tusculum, which belongs to the Latin race and is not less than a hundred stades distant from Rome. And finding the gates not locked and the walls unguarded, it being a time of peace, they took the town by assault, to gratify their resentment against the Tusculans because these were always zealously assisting the Romans and particularly because they alone had aided them in their struggle when they were besieging the Capitol.² The Aequians did not kill very many men in taking the city, since those inside, except such as were unable to flee because of illness or age, had forestalled them by crowding out through other gates just before the capture of the place; but they made slaves of their wives, children and domestics, and plundered their effects. As soon as news of the disaster was brought to Rome by those who had escaped capture, the consuls thought they ought to assist the fugitives promptly and restore their city to them; but the tribunes opposed them and would not permit an army to be enrolled until a vote should be taken concerning the law. While the senators were expressing their

¹ For chaps. 20 f. cf. Livy iii. 22-24,

² See chap. 16, 3,

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βουλῆς καὶ διατριβὴν λαμβανούσης τῆς στρατείας
 ἕτεροι παρῆσαν ἀπὸ τοῦ Λατίνων ἔθνους ἀποστα-
 λέντες, οἳ τὴν Ἀντιατῶν πόλιν ἡγγέλλον ἐκ τοῦ
 φανεροῦ ἀφεστηκέναι, μιᾷ χρησαμένων γνῶμη Οὐο-
 λούσκων τε τῶν ἀρχαίων οἰκητόρων τῆς πόλεως καὶ
 Ῥωμαίων τῶν ἀφικομένων ὡς αὐτοὺς ἐποίκων καὶ
 μερισαμένων τὴν γῆν. Ἑρνίκων τε ἄγγελοι κατὰ
 τοὺς αὐτοὺς παρῆσαν χρόνους δηλοῦντες ὅτι Οὐο-
 λούσκων τε καὶ Αἰκανῶν δύναμις πολλὴ ἐξελέλυθε
 5 καὶ ἐστὶν ἐν τῇ αὐτῶν ἤδη γῇ. τούτων ἅμα προσ-
 αγγελλομένων οὐδεμίαν ἀναστροφὴν ἔτι ποιεῖσθαι
 τοῖς ἐκ τοῦ συνεδρίου ἐδόκει, ἀλλὰ πανστρατιᾷ βοη-
 θεῖν καὶ τοὺς ὑπάτους ἀμφοτέρους ἐξιέναι· ἐὰν δέ
 τινες ἀπολειφθῶσι τῆς στρατείας Ῥωμαίων ἢ τῶν
 6 συμμάχων, ὡς πολεμίους αὐτοῖς χρῆσθαι εἰζάν-
 των δὲ καὶ τῶν δημάρχων καταγράψαντες τοὺς
 ἐν ἡλικίᾳ πάντας οἳ ὑπατοὶ καὶ τὰς παρὰ τῶν
 συμμάχων δυνάμεις μεταπεμφάμενοι κατὰ σπουδὴν
 ἐξήρσαν ὑπολιπόμενοι¹ φυλακὴν τῇ πόλει τρίτην
 μοῖραν τῆς ἐπιχωρίου στρατιᾶς. Φάβιος μὲν οὖν
 ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐν τῇ Τυσκλανῶν² ὄντας Αἰκανοὺς τὴν
 7 στρατιάν ἤγε διὰ τάχους³ τῶν δ' οἳ μὲν πλείους
 ἀπεληλύθεσαν ἤδη διηρηπακότες τὴν πόλιν, ὀλίγοι
 δέ τινες ὑπέμενον φυλάττοντες τὴν ἄκραν ἔστι δὲ
 σφόδρα ἐχυρὰ καὶ οὐ πολλῆς δεομένη φυλακῆς
 τινὲς μὲν οὖν φασὶ τοὺς φρουροὺς τῆς ἄκρας ἰδόντας
 ἐξιούσαν ἐκ τῆς Ῥώμης τὴν στρατιάν (εὐσύννοπτα
 γάρ ἐστιν ἐκ μετεώρου τὰ μεταξὺ χωρὶα πάντα)
 ἐκόντας ἐξελθεῖν, ἕτεροι δὲ ἐκπολιορκηθέντας ὑπὸ
 τοῦ Φαβίου καθ' ὁμολογίαν παραδοῦναι τὸ φρού-

¹ ὑπολιπόμενοι Ba : ὑπολειπόμενοι R

indignation and the expedition was being delayed, other messengers arrived, from the Latin nation, reporting that Antium had openly revolted by the joint action of the Volscians, who were the original inhabitants of the place, and of the Romans who had come to them as colonists and had received a portion of the land. Messengers from the Hernicans also arrived during these same days, informing them that a large force of Volscians and Aequians had marched forth and was already in the country of the Hernicans. All these things being reported at the same time, the senators resolved to make no further delay, but to go to the rescue with all their forces, and that both consuls should take the field; and if any of the Romans or the allies should decline to serve, to treat them as enemies. When the tribunes also yielded, the consuls, having enrolled all who were of military age and sent for the forces of the allies, hastily marched out, leaving a third part of their own army to guard the city. Fabius, accordingly, marched in haste against the Aequians who were in the Tusculans' territory. Most of these had already left the city after plundering it, but a few remained to guard the citadel, which is very strong and does not require a large garrison. Some state that the garrison of the citadel, seeing the army marching from Rome—for all the region lying between may be easily seen from a height—came out of their own accord; others say that after being reduced by Fabius to the necessity of surrendering they handed over the fortress by capitulation, stipu-

² ἐν τῇ Τυσκληανῶν Cary, ἐν τῷ Τυσκλάνων (or ἐν τῷ Τύσκλη) Sylburg, Jacoby : ἐν τῷ τυσκλάνῳ AB

³ διὰ τάχους B . διὰ τάχους ἐλαύνων R.

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ριον, τοῖς σώμασιν αὐτοῖς ἄδειαν αἰτησαμένους καὶ
ζυγὸν ὑποστάντας.

XXI. Ἀποδοὺς δὲ τοῖς Τυσκλανοῖς τὴν πόλιν
Φάβιος περὶ δεῖλιν ὀψίαν ἀνίστησι τὴν στρατιάν,
καὶ ὡς εἶχε τάχους ἤλαυνεν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους,
ἀκούων περὶ πόλιν Ἀλγιδὸν¹ ἀθρόας εἶναι τὰς τε
Οὐολούσκων καὶ τὰς Αἰκανῶν δυνάμεις. ποιησά-
μενος δὲ δι' ὅλης νυκτὸς σύντονον ὁδὸν ὑπ' αὐτὸν
τὸν ὄρθρον ἐπιφαίνεται τοῖς πολεμίους ἐστρατοπε-
δευκόσιν ἐν πεδίῳ καὶ οὔτε τάφρον περιβεβλημένοις
οὔτε χάρακα, ὡς ἐν οἰκείᾳ τε γῇ καὶ καταφρονήσει
² τοῦ ἀντιπάλου. παρακελευσάμενος δὲ τοῖς ἀμφ'
αὐτὸν ἀγαθοῖς ἀνδράσι γίνεσθαι πρῶτος εἰσελαύνει
μετὰ τῶν ἱππέων εἰς τὴν τῶν πολεμίων παρεμβο-
λὴν, καὶ οἱ πεζοὶ συναλαλάξαντες² εἶποντο τῶν δ'
οἱ μὲν ἔτι κοιμώμενοι ἐφονεύοντο, οἱ δ' ἀρτίως
ἀνεστηκότες καὶ πρὸς ἀλκὴν ἐπιχειροῦντες τραπέ-
³ σθαι, οἱ δὲ πλείους φεύγοντες ἐσκεδάννυντο.³ ἁλόν-
τος δὲ τοῦ στρατοπέδου κατὰ πολλὴν εὐπέτειαν
ἐπιτρέψας τοῖς στρατιώταις τὰ χρήματα ὠφελεῖσθαι
καὶ τὰ σώματα πλὴν ὅσα Τυσκλανῶν ἦν, οὐ πολὺν
ἐνταῦθα διατρίψας χρόνον ἐπὶ τὴν Ἐχετρανῶν
πόλιν ἦγε τὴν δύναμιν, ἣ τότε ἦν τοῦ Οὐολούσκων
ἔθνους ἐπιφανεστάτη τε καὶ⁴ τῷ κρατίστῳ μάλιστα
⁴ τόπῳ κειμένη. στρατοπεδεύσας δὲ πλησίον τῆς πό-
λεως ἐπὶ πολλὰς ἡμέρας κατ' ἐλπίδα τοῦ προελεύ-
σεσθαι τοὺς ἔνδον εἰς μάχην, ὡς οὐδεμία ἐξήκει
στρατιά, τὴν γῆν αὐτῶν ἐδήγου ἀνθρώπων μεστήν
οὖσαν καὶ βοσκημάτων. οὐ γὰρ ἔφθασαν ἀνασκευ-
ασάμενοι τὰ ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν αἰφνιδίου γενηθείσης

¹ ἀλγιδὸν Ba : ἀλγιδόνα ABb

² Reiske : οὖν ἀλαλάξαντες B, ἀλαλάξαντες A.

lating that their lives should be spared and submitting to pass under the yoke.

XXI After Fabius had restored the city to the Tuscians, he broke camp in the late afternoon and marched with all possible speed against the enemy, upon hearing that the combined forces of the Volscians and the Aequians lay near the town of Algidum. And having made a forced march all that night, he appeared before the enemy at early dawn, as they lay encamped in a plain without either a ditch or a palisade to defend them, inasmuch as they were in their own country and were contemptuous of their foe. Then, exhorting his troops to acquit themselves as brave men should, he was the first to charge into the enemy's camp at the head of the horse, and the foot, uttering their war-cry, followed. Some of the enemy were slain while they were still asleep and others just as they had got up and were attempting to defend themselves; but most of them scattered in flight. The camp having been taken with great ease, Fabius permitted the soldiers to keep for themselves the booty and the prisoners, except those who were Tuscians. Then, after a short stay there, he led them to Ecetra, which was at that time the most prominent city of the Volscian nation and the most strongly situated. When he had encamped near this city for many days in hopes that those inside would come out to fight, and no army issued forth, he laid waste their land, which was full of men and cattle, for the Volscians, surprised by the suddenness of the attack upon them, had not had time to remove their

³ φεύγοντες ἐσκεδάννυντο A. ἔφευγον B

⁴ Jacoby : καὶ AB.

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αὐτοῖς τῆς ἐφόδου ἐφεῖς δὲ καὶ ταῦτα τοῖς στρατι-
 ωταῖς διαρπάζειν ὁ Φάβιος καὶ πολλὰς ἐν τῇ προ-
 νομῇ διατρίψας ἡμέρας ἀπῆγεν ἐπ' οἴκου τὴν δύναμιν
 5 Ὅ δ' ἕτερος τῶν ὑπάτων Κορνήλιος ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐν
 Ἀντίῳ Ῥωμαίους τε καὶ Οὐολούσκους ἐλαύνων ἐπι-
 τυγχάνει στρατιᾷ πρὸ τῶν ὀρίων αὐτὸν ὑποδεχο-
 μένη. παραταξάμενος δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν
 φονεύσας, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς τρεψάμενος, ἀγχοῦ τῆς
 πόλεως κατεστρατοπέδευσεν. οὐ τολμώντων δὲ τῶν
 ἐκ τῆς πόλεως οὐκέτι χωρεῖν εἰς μάχην πρῶτον μὲν
 τὴν γῆν αὐτῶν ἔκειρεν, ἔπειτα τὴν πόλιν¹ ἀπετά-
 φρενε καὶ περιεχαράκου. τότε δὴ πάλιν ἀναγκασ-
 θέντες ἐξῆλθον ἐκ τῆς πόλεως πανστρατιᾷ, πολλὺς
 καὶ ἀσύντακτος ὄχλος, καὶ συμβαλόντες εἰς μάχην
 ἔτι κάκιον ἀγωνισάμενοι κατακλείονται τὸ δεύτερον
 εἰς τὴν πόλιν, αἰσχυρῶς καὶ ἀνάνδρως φεύγοντες.
 6 ὁ δ' ὑπάτος οὐδεμίαν αὐτοῖς ἀναστροφὴν ἔτι δούς
 κλίμακας προσέφερε τοῖς τείχεσι καὶ κριοῖς ἐξ-
 ἔκοπτε τὰς πύλας. ἐπιπόνως δὲ καὶ ταλαιπώρως
 τῶν ἔνδον ἀπομαχομένων οὐ πολλὰ πραγματευθεὶς
 κατὰ κράτος αἰρεῖ τὴν πόλιν. χρήματα μὲν οὖν αὐ-
 τῶν, ὅσα χρυσὸς καὶ ἄργυρος καὶ χαλκὸς ἐνῆν, εἰς
 τὸ δημόσιον ἐκέλευσεν ἀναφέρειν, ἀνδράποδα δὲ
 τοὺς ταμίας παραλαμβάνοντας καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ λάφυρα
 πωλεῖν τοῖς δὲ στρατιώταις ἐσθῆτα καὶ τροφὰς καὶ
 ὅσα ἄλλα τοιαῦτα ἐδύναντο ὠφελεῖσθαι ἐπέτρεψεν.
 7 ἔπειτα διακρίνας τῶν τε κληρούχων καὶ τῶν ἀρ-
 χαίων Ἀντιατῶν τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους τε καὶ τῆς
 ἀποστάσεως αἰτίους—ἦσαν δὲ πολλοί²—ῥάβδοις τε
 ἤκισατο μέχρι πολλοῦ καὶ τοὺς αὐχένας αὐτῶν

¹ πόλιν B : πόλιν αὐτῶν R, πόλιν αὐτὴν Reiske.

² ἦσαν δὲ οὐ πολλοί Kiessling.

possessions out of the fields. These things also Fabius permitted his soldiers to plunder, and after spending many days in ravaging the country, he led the army home.

The other consul, Cornelius, marching against the Romans and Volscians in Antium, found an army awaiting him before their borders; and arraying his forces against them, he killed many, and after putting the rest to flight, encamped near the city. But when the inhabitants no longer ventured to come out for battle, he first laid waste their land and then surrounded the city with a ditch and palisades. Then indeed the enemy were compelled to come out again from the city with all their forces, a numerous and disorderly multitude; and engaging in battle and fighting with less bravery than before, they were shut up inside the city a second time, after a shameful and unmanly flight. But the consul, giving them no longer any rest, planted scaling-ladders against the walls and broke down the gates with battering-rams, then, as the besieged with difficulty and painfully tried to fight them off, he with little trouble took the town by storm. He ordered that such of their effects as consisted of gold, silver and copper should be turned in to the treasury, and that the slaves and the rest of the spoils should be taken over and sold by the quaestors, but to the soldiers he granted the apparel and provisions and everything else of the sort that they could use for booty. Then, selecting both from the colonists and from the original inhabitants of Antium those who were the most prominent and had been the authors of the revolt—and there were many of these¹—he ordered them to be scourged

¹ Kiessling would read, "there were not many of these."

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ἐκέλευσεν ἀποτεμεῖν. ταῦτα διαπραξάμενος ἀπῆγε
 8 καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπ' οἴκου τὴν δύναμιν. τούτοις ἡ βουλὴ
 τοῖς ὑπάτοις προσιουσί τε ἀπήντησε καὶ θριάμβους
 ἀμφοτέροις καταγαγεῖν ἐψηφίσατο· καὶ πρὸς Αἰ-
 κανοὺς πρεσβευσαμένους ὑπὲρ εἰρήνης ἐποίησατο
 συνθήκας περὶ καταλύσεως τοῦ πολέμου, ἐν αἷς
 ἐγράφη πόλεις τε καὶ χώραν¹ ἔχοντας Αἰκανοὺς
 ὧν ἐκράτουν ὅτε αἱ σπονδαὶ ἐγίνοντο Ῥωμαίοις
 εἶναι ὑπηκόους, ἄλλο μὲν ὑποτελοῦντας μηθέν, ἐν
 δὲ τοῖς πολέμοις συμμαχίαν ἀποστέλλοντας ὅσην-
 δήποτε, ὥσπερ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι σύμμαχοι. καὶ τὸ ἔτος
 τοῦτο ἐτελεύτα.

XXII. Τῷ δ' ἐξῆς ἐνιαυτῷ Γάιος Ναύτιος τὸ
 δεύτερον αἰρεθεὶς καὶ Λεύκιος Μηνύκιος παρα-
 λαβόντες² τὴν ὑπατον ἀρχὴν τέως μὲν ὑπὲρ τῶν
 πολιτικῶν δικαίων πόλεμον ἐντὸς τείχους ἐπολέ-
 μουν πρὸς τοὺς ἅμα Οὐεργινίῳ δημάρχους τοὺς
 τέταρτον ἔτος ἤδη τὴν αὐτὴν κατασχόντας ἀρχήν.
 2 ἐπεὶ δ' ἀπὸ τῶν πλησιοχώρων ἔθνων πόλεμος ἐ-
 γένετο τῇ πόλει καὶ δέος ἦν μὴ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀφ-
 αιρεθῶσιν, ἀσμένως δεξάμενοι τὸ συμβὰν ἀπὸ τῆς
 τύχης τὸν στρατιωτικὸν ἐποιοῦντο κατάλογον καὶ
 μερισάμενοι τριχῇ τὰς τε οἰκείας καὶ τὰς παρὰ τῶν
 συμμάχων δυνάμεις μίαν μὲν ἐν τῇ πόλει μοῖραν
 κατέλιπον, ἧς ἡγείτο Κόιντος Φάβιος Οὐιβολανός,
 τὰς δὲ λοιπὰς αὐτοὶ παραλαβόντες ἐξήρσαν διὰ
 ταχέων, ἐπὶ μὲν Σαβίνους Ναύτιος, ἐπὶ δ' Αἰκανοὺς
 3 Μηνύκιος. ἀμφότερα γὰρ ταῦτα τὰ ἔθνη κατὰ τὸν
 αὐτὸν χρόνον ἀφειστήκει τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς,
 Σαβίνοι μὲν ἐκ τοῦ³ φανεροῦ, καὶ μέχρι Φιδήνης

¹ Kiessling : χώρας O, Jacoby.

² Sylburg παραλαβὸν Ba, παραλαβὼν ABb.

with rods for a long time and then beheaded. After accomplishing these things he too led his army home. The senate went to meet these consuls as they approached the city and decreed that they both should celebrate a triumph. And when the Aequians sent heralds to sue for peace, they concluded with them a treaty for the termination of the war, in which it was stipulated that the Aequians should retain the cities and land which they possessed at the time of the treaty and be subject to the Romans without paying any tribute, but sending to their assistance in time of war a certain number of troops, like the rest of the allies. Thus ended that year.

XXII. The following year¹ Gaius Nautius (chosen for the second time) and Lucius Minucius succeeded to the consulship, and were for a time waging a war inside the walls, concerning the rights of citizens, against Verginius and the other tribunes, who had obtained the same magistracy now for the fourth year. But when war was brought upon the commonwealth by the neighbouring peoples and there was fear that they might be deprived of their empire, the consuls gladly accepted the opportunity presented to them by Fortune; and having held the military levy, and divided both their own forces and those of the allies into three bodies, they left one of them in the city, commanded by Quintus Fabius Vibulanus, and themselves taking the other two, they marched out in haste, Nautius against the Sabines and Minucius against the Aequians. For both these nations had revolted from the Roman rule at the same time. The Sabines had done so openly, and had advanced as far

¹ For chaps. 22 f cf Livy iii. 25-26, 6.

³ *τοῦ* added by Kiessling

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πόλεως ἤλασαν, ἧς ἐκράτουν Ῥωμαῖοι (τετταρά-
 κοντα δ' εἰσὶν οἱ διὰ μέσου τῶν πόλεων στάδιοι),
 Αἰκανοὶ δὲ λόγῳ μὲν φυλάττοντες τὰ τῆς νεωστὶ
 γενομένης συμμαχίας δίκαια, ἔργῳ δὲ καὶ οὗτοι
 4 πράττοντες τὰ τῶν πολεμίων ἐπὶ γὰρ τοὺς συμ-
 μάχους αὐτῶν Λατίνους ἐστράτευσαν, ὥς οὐ γενο-
 μένων αὐτοῖς πρὸς ἐκείνους ὁμολογιῶν περὶ φιλίας.
 ἡγείτο δὲ τῆς στρατιᾶς¹ Γράγκχος Κλοίλιος,² ἀνὴρ
 δραστήριος ἀρχῇ κοσμηθεὶς αὐτοκράτορι, ἣν ἐπὶ τὸ
 βασιλικώτερον ἐξήγαγεν. ἐλάσας δὲ μέχρι Τύσ-
 κλου πόλεως, ἣν Αἰκανοὶ τῷ πρόσθεν ἐνιαυτῷ
 καταλαβόμενοι καὶ διαρπάσαντες ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων
 ἐξεκρούσθησαν, ἀνθρώπους τε πολλοὺς ἐκ τῶν
 ἀγρῶν συνήρπασε καὶ βοσκήματα ὅσα κατέλαβε καὶ
 5 τοὺς καρποὺς τῆς γῆς ἐν ἀκμῇ ὄντας ἐφθειρεν ἀφ-
 ικομένης δὲ πρεσβείας, ἣν ἀπέστειλεν ἡ Ῥωμαίων
 βουλή μαθεῖν ἀξιοῦσα τί παθόντες Αἰκανοὶ πολε-
 μοῦσι τοῖς Ῥωμαίων συμμάχοις, φιλίας τ' αὐτοῖς
 ὁμωμοσμένης νεωστὶ καὶ οὐδενὸς ἐν τῷ μεταξὺ
 χρόνῳ γενομένου προσκρούσματος τοῖς ἔθνεσι, καὶ
 παραινούσης τῷ Κλοιλίῳ τοὺς τ' αἰχμαλώτους αὐ-
 τῶν οὓς εἶχεν ἀφιέναι καὶ τὴν στρατιὰν ἀπάγειν καὶ
 περὶ ᾧν ἡδίκησεν ἢ κατέβλαψε Τυσκλανοὺς δίκην
 ὑποσχεῖν, πολὺν μὲν χρόνον διέτρυψεν ὁ Γράκ-
 χος οὐδ' εἰς λόγους τοῖς πρεσβευταῖς ἐρχόμενος,
 6 ὥς ἐν ἀσχολίαις δὴ τισι γεγωνῶς. ἐπεὶ δ' οὖν
 ἔδοξεν αὐτῷ προσάγειν τοὺς πρέσβεις, κακῆνοι
 τοὺς ἐπισταλέντας ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς λόγους διεξ-

¹ στρατιᾶς B · στρατείας R.

² Γράγκχος Κλοίλιος Sylburg · γράγκχος κολίλιος AB, Jacoby
 (and so throughout the following chapters). Both names
 are similarly corrupted in some other places (e.g., γράγκχος

BOOK X. 22, 3-6

as Fidenae, which was in the possession of the Romans ; the two cities are forty stades apart. As for the Aequians, though nominally they were observing the terms of the alliance they had recently made, in reality they too were acting like enemies , for they had made war upon the Latins, the allies of the Romans, claiming that they had made no compact of friendship with that nation. Their army was commanded by Cloelius Gracchus,¹ a man of action who had been invested with absolute authority, which he increased to more nearly royal power. This leader, marching as far as the city of Tusculum, which the Aequians had taken and plundered the year before, only to be driven out of it by the Romans, seized a great number of men and all the cattle he found in the fields, and destroyed the crops, which were then ripe. When an embassy arrived, sent by the Roman senate, which demanded to know what provocation had induced the Aequians to make war upon the allies of the Romans, though they had recently sworn to a treaty of peace with them and no cause of offence had since arisen between the two nations, and the envoys advised Cloelius to release the Tusculan prisoners whom he held, to withdraw his forces and to stand trial for the injuries and damage he had done to the Tusculans, he delayed a long time without even giving audience to them, pretending that he was occupied with some business or other. And when he did see fit to have them introduced and they had delivered the senate's message, he said. "I

¹ See the critical note

A in II. 11, 3, κοιλίου A in x. 42, 3, see also the note on III. 2, 1)

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ἤλθον· “Θαυμάζω,” φησίν, “ὕμῶν, ὦ Ῥωμαῖοι, τί δὴ ποτ’ αὐτοὶ μὲν ἅπαντας ἀνθρώπους ἡγείσθε πολεμίους, καὶ ὑφ’ ὧν οὐδὲν κακὸν πεπόνθατε, ἀρχῆς καὶ τυραννίδος ἔνεκα, Αἰκανοῖς δ’ οὐ συγχωρεῖτε παρὰ τουτωνὶ Τυσκλανῶν ἐχθρῶν ὄντων ἀναπράττεσθαι δίκας, οὐθενὸς ἡμῖν διωμολογημένου περὶ αὐτῶν ὅτε τὰς πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐποιούμεθα συνθήκας. εἰ μὲν οὖν τῶν ὑμετέρων ἰδίων ἀδικεῖσθαι τι
⁷ ἢ βλάπτεσθαι λέγετε ὑφ’ ἡμῶν, τὰ δίκαια ὑφέξομεν ὑμῖν κατὰ τὰς ὁμολογίας· εἰ δὲ περὶ Τυσκλανῶν ἀναπραξόμενοι δίκας ἤκετε, οὐθεὶς ἐστὶν ὑμῖν πρὸς ἐμὲ περὶ τούτων λόγος, ἀλλὰ πρὸς ταύτην λαλεῖτε τὴν φηγόν”—δείξας αὐτοῖς τινα πλησίον πεφυκυῖαν.

XXIII Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ τοιαῦτα ὕβρισθέντες ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς οὐκ εὐθὺς ὀργῇ ἐπιτρέψαντες ἐξήγαγον τὴν στρατιάν, ἀλλὰ καὶ δευτέραν ὡς αὐτὸν ἀπέστειλαν πρεσβείαν καὶ τοὺς φητιάλεις¹ καλουμένους ἄνδρας ἱερεῖς² ἔπεμψαν ἐπιμαρτυρόμενοι³ θεοὺς τε καὶ δαίμονας ὅτι μὴ δυνηθέντες τῶν δικαίων τυχεῖν ὅσιον ἀναγκασθήσονται πόλεμον ἐκφέρειν καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα τὸν ὕπατον ἀπέστειλαν ὃ δὲ Γράκχος,
² ἐπειδὴ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους προσιόντας ἔμαθεν, ἀναστήσας τὴν δύναμιν ἀπῆγε προσωτέρω, τῶν πολεμίων ἐκ ποδὸς ἐπομένων, βουλόμενος αὐτοὺς εἰς τοιαῦτα προαγαγέσθαι⁴ χωρία ἐν οἷς πλεονεκτῆσειν ἔμελλεν ὅπερ καὶ συνέβη. φυλάξας γὰρ αὐλῶνα περικλειόμενον ὄρεσιν, ὡς ἐνέβαλον εἰς τοῦτον οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι διώκοντες αὐτόν, ὑποστρέφει τε καὶ στρατοπεδεύεται κατὰ τὴν ἐκ τοῦ αὐλῶνος ἔξω

¹ Sylburg : φητιάλεις B, φητιαλεῖς R.

² ἱερεῖς A : ἱεροὺς R.

³ ἐπιμαρτυρόμενοι A · ἐπιμαρτυρούμενοι B.

wonder at you, Romans, why in the world, when you yourselves regard all men as enemies, even those from whom you have received no injury, because of your lust for dominion and tyranny, you do not concede to the Aequians the right to take vengeance on these Tusculans here, who are our enemies, inasmuch as we made no agreement with regard to them at the time we concluded the treaty with you. Now if you claim that any interest of your own is suffering injustice or injury at our hands, we will afford you proper indemnity in accordance with the treaty; but if you have come to exact satisfaction on behalf of the Tusculans, you have no reckoning with me on that subject, but go talk to yonder oak"—pointing to one that grew near by.

XXIII. The Romans, though thus insulted by the man, did not immediately give way to their resentment and lead their army forth, but sent a second embassy to him and likewise the priests called *fetiales*, calling the gods and lesser divinities to witness that if they were unable to obtain satisfaction they should be obliged to wage a holy war; and after that they sent out the consul. When Gracchus learned that the Romans were approaching, he broke camp and retired with his forces to a greater distance, the enemy following close at his heels. His purpose was to lead them on into a region where he would have an advantage over them, and that is what in fact happened. For waiting until he found a valley surrounded by hills, he then, as soon as the Romans had entered it in pursuit of him, faced about and encamped astride the road that led out of the valley.

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3 φέρουσιν ὁδόν. ἐκ δὲ τούτου συνεβεβήκει τοῖς
 Ῥωμαίοις οὐχ ὃν ἐβούλοντο ἐκλέξασθαι τόπον εἰς
 στρατοπεδείαν, ἀλλ' ὃν ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς ὁ καιρός,
 ἔνθα οὐθ' ἵπποις χιλὸν εὖπορον ἦν λαμβάνειν, ὅρεσι
 περικλειομένου τοῦ τόπου ψιλοῖς καὶ δυσβάτοις,
 οὐθ' ἑαυτοῖς τροφὰς ἐκ τῆς πολεμίας συγκομίζειν,
 ἐπειδὴ κατηνάλωντο ἄς οἴκοθεν ἔφερον, οὔτε μετα-
 στρατοπεδεύσασθαι τῶν πολεμίων ἀντικαθημένων
 καὶ κωλυόντων τὰς ἐξόδους. βιάσασθαι τε προελό-
 μενοι καὶ προελθόντες εἰς μάχην ἀνεκρούσθησαν καὶ
 πολλὰς πληγὰς λαβόντες εἰς τὸν αὐτὸν¹ κατεκλείσ-
 θησαν χάρακα ὁ δὲ Κλοῖλιος ἐπαρθεὶς τῷ προ-
 τερήματι τούτῳ περιετάφρενέ τε αὐτοὺς καὶ περι-
 εχάρακου καὶ πολλὰς ἐλπίδας εἶχε λιμῷ πιεσθέντας
 4 παραδώσειν αὐτῷ τὰ ὅπλα. ἀφικομένης δ' εἰς
 Ῥώμην περὶ τούτων ἀγγελίας Κόιντος Φάβιος ὁ
 καταλειφθεὶς ἐπὶ τῆς πόλεως ἑπαρχος ἀπὸ τῆς σὺν
 αὐτῷ στρατιᾷ ὅσον ἦν ἀκμαιότατον² τε καὶ κράτισ-
 τον ἐπιλέξας μέρος ἐπὶ συμμαχίαν ἔπεμψε τῷ
 ὑπάτῳ. ἡγείτο δὲ τῆς δυνάμεως ταύτης Τίτος
 5 Κοῖντιος ὁ ταμίας ἀνὴρ ὑπατικός πρὸς δὲ τὸν
 ἕτερον τῶν ὑπάτων Ναύτιον ἐπὶ τῆς ἐν Σαβίνοις
 στρατιᾷ ὄντα γράμματα διαπέμψας τὰ τε συμβάντα
 τῷ Μηνυκίῳ διεσάφησε καὶ αὐτὸν ἡκεῖν ἡξίου διὰ
 ταχέων. κακείνος ἐπιτρέψας τοῖς πρεσβευταῖς τὸν
 χάρακα φυλάττειν αὐτὸς σὺν ὀλίγοις³ ἵππεύσιν εἰς
 τὴν Ῥώμην ἐλαύνει συντόνῳ χρησάμενος ἵππασίᾳ·
 εἰσελθὼν δ' εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἔτι πολλῆς νυκτὸς οὔσης
 ἐβουλεύετο σὺν τῷ Φαβίῳ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πολιτῶν⁴
 τοῖς πρεσβυτάτοις ὃ τι χρὴ ποιεῖν ἐπεὶ δὲ πᾶσιν

¹ αὐτὸν O : αὐτῶν Gelenius

² Sylburg · ἀναγκαιότατον O.

As a consequence the Romans were unable to choose for their camp the place they preferred, but had to take the one the situation offered, where it was not easy either to get forage for the horses, the place being surrounded by hills that were bare and difficult of access, or to bring in provisions for themselves out of the enemy's country, since what they had brought from home had been consumed, nor yet easy to shift their camp while the enemy lay before them and blocked the exits. Choosing, therefore, to force their way out, they engaged in battle and were repulsed, and after receiving many wounds were shut up again in the same camp. Cloelius, elated by this success, began to surround the place with a ditch and palisades and had great hopes of forcing them by famine to deliver up their arms to him. The news of this disaster being brought to Rome, Quintus Fabius, who had been left as prefect in charge of the city, chose out of his own army a body of the fittest and strongest men and sent them to the assistance of the consul; they were commanded by Titus Quintius, who was quaestor and an ex-consul. And sending a letter to Nautius, the other consul, who commanded the army in the country of the Sabines, he informed him of what had happened to Minucius and asked him to come in haste. Nautius committed the guarding of the camp to the legates and he himself with a small squadron of cavalry made a forced ride to Rome; and arriving in the city while it was still deep night, he took counsel with Fabius and the oldest of the other citizens concerning the measures that should be taken. When all were of the opinion

³ ὀλίγους B τοῖς ἄλλοις R
⁴ πολιτῶν O βουλευτῶν Kiessling

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ἔδόκει δικτάτορος δεῖσθαι ὁ καιρός, ἀποδείκνυσιν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ταύτην Λεύκιον Κοῦντιον¹ Κικιννᾶτον. καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν ταῦτα διαπραξάμενος ὥχετο πάλιν ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον.

XXIV. Ὁ δὲ τῆς πόλεως ἑπαρχος Φάβιος ἔπεμπε τοὺς παραληψομένους τὸν Κοῦντιον ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχήν. ἔτυχε δὲ καὶ τότε ὁ ἀνὴρ τῶν κατ' ἀγρόν ἔργων τι διαπραττόμενος· ἰδὼν δὲ τὸν προσιόντα ὄχλον καὶ ὑποπτεύσας ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἤκειν ἐσθῆτά τ' ἐλάμβανεν εὐπρεπεστέραν καὶ ὑπαντήσων αὐτοῖς
² ἐπορεύετο. ὥς δ' ἐγγὺς ἦν, ἵππους τ' αὐτῷ φαλάροις κεκοσμημένους ἐκπρεπέσι προσήγον καὶ πελέκεις ἅμα ταῖς ράβδοις εἰκοσιτέτταρας παρέστησαν ἐσθῆτά τε ἀλουργῇ καὶ τᾶλλα παράσημα οἷς πρότερον ἡ τῶν βασιλέων ἐκεκόσμητο ἀρχὴ προσήνεγκαν. ὁ δὲ μαθὼν ὅτι δικτάτωρ ἀποδέδεικται τῆς πόλεως, οὐχ ὅπως ἡγάπησε τηλικαύτης τιμῆς τυχών, ἀλλὰ προσαγανακτῆσας εἶπεν· “Ἀπολείται ἄρα καὶ τοῦτου τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ ὁ καρπὸς διὰ τὰς ἐμὰς ἀσχολίας,
³ καὶ πεινῆσομεν ἅπαντες κακῶς.” μετὰ ταῦτα παραγενόμενος εἰς τὴν πόλιν πρῶτον μὲν ἐθάρρυνε τοὺς πολίτας λόγον ἐν τῷ πλήθει διεξεληθὼν ἐξεγεῖραι τὰς ψυχὰς δυνάμενον ἐλπίσιν ἀγαθαῖς ἔπειτα συναγαγὼν ἅπαντας τοὺς ἐν ἀκμῇ, τοὺς τε κατὰ πόλιν² καὶ τοὺς ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν, καὶ τὰς παρὰ τῶν συμμάχων ἐπικουρίας μεταπεμφάμενος ἱππάρχην τ' ἀποδείξας Λεύκιον Ταρκύνιον, ἄνδρα τῶν ἡμελημένων μὲν διὰ πενίαν, τὰ δὲ πολέμια γενναῖον, ἐξῆγε³ συγκεκροτημένην ἔχων δύναμιν, καὶ καταλαβὼν τὸν ταμίαν Τίτον Κοῦντιον ἀναδεχόμενον

¹ Κοῦντιον added by Kiessling

² πόλιν O · τὴν πόλιν Ambrosch, Jacoby.

that the situation required a dictator, he named Lucius Quintius Cincinnatus to that magistracy. Then, having attended to this business, he himself returned to the camp.

XXIV Fabius,¹ the prefect of the city, sent men to invite Quintius to come and assume his magistracy. It chanced that Quintius was on this occasion also engaged in some work of husbandry ; and seeing the approaching throng and suspecting that they were coming after him, he put on more becoming apparel and went to meet them. When he drew near, they brought to him horses decked with magnificent trappings, placed beside him twenty-four axes with the rods and presented to him the purple robe and the other insignia with which aforetime the kingly office had been adorned. Quintius, when he learned that he had been appointed dictator, far from being pleased at receiving so great an honour, was actually vexed, and said . “ This year’s crop too will be ruined, then, because of my official duties, and we shall all go dreadfully hungry.” After that he went into the city and first encouraged the citizens by delivering a speech before the populace calculated to raise their spirits with good hopes ; then, after assembling all the men in their prime, both of the city and of the country, and sending for the forces of the allies, he appointed as his Master of Horse Lucius Tarquinius, a man who because of his poverty had been overlooked, but valiant in war. After which he led out his forces, now that he had them assembled, and joined Titus Quintius, the quaestor, who was awaiting

¹ For chaps 24 f cf Livy III. 26, 7–29, 9

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αὐτοῦ τὴν παρουσίαν, λαβὼν καὶ τὴν σὺν ἐκείνῳ
 4 δύνάμιν ἦγεν¹ ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ὥς δὲ κατ-
 ὥπτευσε τὴν τῶν χωρίων φύσιν ἐν οἷς ἦν τὰ
 στρατόπεδα, μέρος μὲν τι τῆς στρατιᾶς ἐπὶ τοῖς
 μετεώροις ἔταξεν, ὥς μήτε βοήθεια παραγένοιτο τοῖς
 Αἰκανοῖς ἑτέρα μήτε τροφαί, τὴν δὲ λοιπὴν δύνάμιν
 αὐτὸς ἔχων προῆγεν ἐκτεταγμένην ὥς εἰς μάχην.
 καὶ ὁ Κλοῖλιος οὐθὲν ὑποδείσας (ἥ τε γὰρ δύναμις ἡ
 περὶ αὐτὸν ἦν οὐκ ὀλίγη καὶ αὐτὸς ἐδόκει ψυχὴν
 οὐ κακὸς εἶναι κατὰ² τὰ πολέμια) δέχεται αὐτὸν
 5 ἐπιόντα, καὶ γίνεται μάχη καρτερά χρόνου δὲ
 πολλοῦ διελθόντος καὶ τῶν Ῥωμαίων διὰ τοὺς
 συνεχεῖς πολέμους ἀναφερόντων τὸν πόνον τῶν τε
 ἱππέων κατὰ τὸ κάμνον μέρος αἰεὶ ἐπιβοηθούντων
 τοῖς πεζοῖς ἡσσηθεῖς ὁ Γράκχος κατακλείεται πάλιν³
 εἰς τὸν ἑαυτοῦ⁴ χάρακα. καὶ μετὰ τοῦθ' ὁ⁵ Κοῖντιος
 περιταφρεύσας αὐτὸν ὑψηλῷ χάρακι καὶ πύργοις
 πυκνοῖς περιλαβὼν, ἐπεὶ κάμνοντα ἔμαθε τῶν
 ἀναγκαίων τῇ σπάνει, αὐτὸς τε προσβολὰς ἐποιεῖτο
 συνεχεῖς πρὸς τὸν χάρακα τῶν Αἰκανῶν καὶ τῷ
 Μηνυκίῳ προσέταξεν ἀπὸ τῶν ἐτέρων ἐξιέναι⁶
 6 μερῶν. ὥστε ἠναγκάσθησαν οἱ Αἰκανοὶ τροφῆς τε
 ἀπορούμενοι καὶ συμμάχων βοήθειαν ἀπεγνωκότες
 πολιορκούμενοί τε πολλαχόθεν⁷ ἰκετηρίας ἀναλα-
 βόντες ἐπιπρεσβεύεσθαι πρὸς τὸν Κοῖντιον περὶ
 φιλίας.⁸ ὁ δὲ τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις Αἰκανοῖς ἔφη σπένδε-
 σθαι καὶ διδόναι τοῖς σώμασι⁹ τὴν ἄδειαν τά τε

¹ Reiske : ἦκε O, Jacoby

² κατὰ added by Jacoby. Kiessling preferred to delete τὰ πολέμια or else to read καὶ τὰ πολέμια δεινός

³ πάλιν B : om. R

⁴ ἑαυτοῦ R (°) : αὐτοῦ B.

⁵ τοῦθ' ὁ Jacoby, τοῦτο ὁ Kiessling : τοῦτο O.

⁶ ἐπιέναι Kiessling.

⁷ πανταχόθεν Kiessling.

his arrival; and taking with him Quintus' forces also, he led them against the enemy. After observing the nature of the places in which the camps lay, he posted a part of his army on the heights, in order that neither another relief force nor any provisions might reach the Aequians, and he himself marched forward with the remainder arrayed as for battle. Cloelius, unmoved by fear—for the force he had was no small one and he himself was looked upon as no craven in spirit when it came to fighting—awaited his attack, and a severe battle ensued. After this had continued for a long time, and the Romans because of their continuous wars endured the toil, and the horse kept relieving the foot wherever the latter were hard pressed, Gracchus was beaten and shut up once more in his camp. After that Quintus surrounded it with a high palisade, fortified with many towers; and when he learned that Gracchus was in distress for want of provisions, he not only himself made continual attacks upon the camp of the Aequians, but also ordered Minucius to make a sortie on the other side.¹ Consequently the Aequians, lacking provisions, despairing of aid from any allies, and besieged on many sides,² were compelled to send envoys to Quintus with the tokens of supplicants to treat for peace. Quintus said he was ready to make peace with the rest of the Aequians and grant them immunity for their persons if they would lay down

¹ Kiessling would read, "make an attack from the other side."

² Kiessling suggests "on all sides."

³ διαλεγόμενοι after φίλας deleted by Garrer, Sylburg read διαλεξόμενοι

⁹ σώμασιν B Kiessling would read σώμασιν ἄδειαν

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ὄπλα ἀποθεμένοις καὶ καθ' ἓνα διεξιούσιν ὑπὸ
 ζυγόν, Γράκχῳ δὲ τῷ ἡγεμόνι τῶν πολεμίων καὶ
 τοῖς σὺν ἐκείνῳ βουλευσασι τὴν ἀπόστασιν ὡς
 πολεμίοις χρήσεσθαι,¹ ἐκέλευσέ τε αὐτοῖς ἄγειν
 7 τοὺς ἄνδρας δεδεμένους. ὑπομενότων δὲ ταῦτα
 τῶν Αἰκανῶν τελευταῖον αὐτοῖς ἐκείνο προσέταξεν·
 ἐπειδὴ Τύσκλον πόλιν Ῥωμαίων σύμμαχον ἐξην-
 δραποδίσαντο καὶ διήρπασαν οὐδὲν ὑπὸ Τυσκανῶν
 παθόντες κακόν, ἀντιπαρασχεῖν ἑαυτῷ πόλιν τῶν
 8 σφετέρων Κορβιῶνα τὰ ὅμοια διαθεῖναι. ταύτας
 λαβόντες τὰς ἀποκρίσεις οἱ πρέσβεις² ἀπήεσαν³ καὶ
 μετ' οὐ πολὺ παρήσαν ἄγοντες τὸν Γράκχον καὶ
 τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ δεδεμένους· αὐτοὶ δὲ τὰ ὄπλα θέντες
 ἐξέλιπον τὴν παρεμβολὴν διαπορευόμενοι, καθάπερ
 ὁ στρατηγὸς ἐκέλευσε, διὰ τοῦ Ῥωμαίων χάρακος
 καθ' ἓνα ὑπὸ ζυγόν, καὶ τὴν Κορβιῶνα κατὰ τὰς
 ὁμολογίας παρέδοσαν, τὰ ἐλεύθερα σώματα μόνον
 ἐξελθεῖν αἰτησάμενοι, περὶ ὧν διήλλαξαν τοὺς
 Τυσκανῶν αἰχμαλώτους

XXV Παραλαβὼν δὲ ὁ Κοῦντιος τὴν πόλιν τὰ
 μὲν ἐπιφανέστατα τῶν λαφύρων εἰς Ῥώμην ἐκέ-
 λευσε φέρειν, τὰ δ' ἄλλα πάντα διελέσθαι κατὰ
 λόχους ἐπέτρεψε τοῖς τε σὺν αὐτῷ⁴ παραγενομένοις
 στρατιώταις καὶ τοῖς ἅμα Κοιντίῳ τῷ ταμίᾳ προ-
 αποσταλείσι τοῖς δὲ μετὰ Μηνυκίου τοῦ ὑπάτου
 κατακλεισθεῖσιν ἐν τῷ χάρακι μεγάλην ἔφη δεδω-
 κέναι δωρεὰν τὰ σώματα αὐτῶν ἐκ θανάτου ῥυσά-
 2 μενος. ταῦτα πράξας καὶ τὸν Μηνύκιον ἀποθέσθαι
 τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀναγκάσας ἀνέστρεψεν εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην

¹ Sylburg : χρήσασθαι O, Jacoby

² οἱ πρέσβεις R · οἱ πρέσβεις τῶν αἰκανῶν B, Jacoby.

³ Sylburg : προήεσαν O, Jacoby.

their arms and pass under the yoke one at a time ; but as for Gracchus, their commander, and those who had planned the revolt with him, he would treat them as enemies, and he ordered them to bring these men to him in chains. When the Aequians consented to do so, the last demand he made of them was this—that, inasmuch as they had enslaved the inhabitants of Tusculum, a city in alliance with the Romans, and plundered it, though they had received no injury from the Tuscans, they should in turn put at his disposal one of their own cities, Corbio, to be treated in like manner. The envoys, having received this answer, departed, and not long afterward returned, bringing with them in chains Gracchus and his associates. They themselves, laying down their arms, left their camp and, pursuant to the general's orders, marched through the Roman camp one by one under the yoke ; and they delivered up Corbio according to their agreement, merely asking that the inhabitants of free condition might leave the city, in exchange for whom they released the Tusculan captives.

XXV. Quintius, having taken possession of Corbio, ordered the choicest of the spoils to be carried to Rome and permitted all the rest to be distributed by centuries both to the troops that had been with him and to those that had been sent ahead with Quintius the quaestor. As for the forces which had been shut up in their camp with Minucius the consul, he said that he had already bestowed a great gift upon them in delivering them from death. After doing these things and forcing Minucius to resign his magistracy, he returned to Rome and celebrated a triumph more

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καὶ κατήγαγε λαμπρότατον ἀπάντων ἡγεμόνων
 θρίαμβον, ἐν ἡμέραις ἑκκαίδεκα ταῖς πάσαις, ἀφ'
 ἧς παρέλαβε τὴν ἀρχήν, στρατόπεδόν τε σώσας
 φίλιον καὶ πολεμίων δύναμιν ἀκμάζουσιν καθελὼν
 πόλιν τε αὐτῶν πορθήσας καὶ φρουρὰν αὐτῆς
 ὑπολιπὼν τὸν τε ἡγεμόνα τοῦ πολέμου καὶ τοὺς
 ἄλλους ἐπιφανεῖς ἄνδρας ἀλύσει δεδεμένους ἀγα-
 3 γών.¹ καί, ὁ μάλιστα πάντων αὐτοῦ θαυμάζειν
 ἄξιον,² τὴν τοσαύτην ἀρχὴν εἰς ἐξάμηνον εἰληφὼς
 οὐκ ἐχρήσατο παντὶ τῷ νόμῳ, ἀλλὰ συναγαγὼν
 τὸν δῆμον εἰς ἐκκλησίαν καὶ περὶ τῶν πεπραγμένων
 λόγον ἀποδοὺς ἐξωμόσατο τὴν ἀρχήν, τῆς τε βου-
 λῆς δεομένης γῆν τε ὅσιν ἐβούλετο λαβεῖν ἐκ τῆς
 δορικτήτου καὶ ἀνδράποδα καὶ χρήματα ἐκ τῶν λα-
 φύρων ἐπανορθῶσαι τε³ τὴν πενίαν πλούτῳ δικαίῳ,
 ὃν ἀπὸ πολεμίων κάλλιστον ἐκτήσατο τοῖς ἰδίοις
 πόνοις, οὐκ ἠξίωσε, φίλων τε καὶ συγγενῶν δωρεὰς
 προσφερόντων μεγάλας καὶ ἀντὶ παντὸς ἀγαθοῦ
 τιθεμένων ἐκείνῳ τὸν ἄνδρα εὖ ποιεῖν, ἐπαινέσας
 αὐτοὺς τῆς προθυμίας οὐθέν τῶν διδομένων ἔλαβεν,
 ἀλλ' ἀπῆλθε πάλιν εἰς τὸ μικρὸν ἐκείνο χωρίον, καὶ
 τὸν αὐτουργὸν αὐτοῦ⁴ ἀντὶ τοῦ βασιλικοῦ μετετελέ-
 φει⁵ βίον, μείζον φρονῶν ἐπὶ πενίᾳ ἢ ἄλλοι ἐπὶ
 4 πλούτῳ μετ' οὐ πολὺν δὲ χρόνον καὶ Ναύτιος,
 ἄτερος τῶν ὑπάτων, νικήσας Σαβίνους ἐκ παρα-
 τάξεως καὶ τῆς χώρας αὐτῶν πολλὴν καταδραμὼν
 ἀπῆγεν ἐπ' οἴκου τὰς δυνάμεις.

XXVI. Μετὰ δὲ τούτους ὀλυμπιάς μὲν ἦν ὀγδοη-
 κοστὴ καὶ πρώτη, ἦν ἐνίκα στάδιον Πολύμναστος

¹ ἀγαγών A : om B, ἄγων R.

² ὅτι after ἄξιον deleted by Vassiss

³ τε B : om R, Jacoby. ⁴ αὐτοῦ O αὐθις Cobet.

brilliant than that of any other general, having in the space of sixteen days in all from that on which he had received the magistracy saved an army of his fellow citizens, defeated a first-rate force of the enemy, plundered one of their cities and left a garrison in it, and brought back the leader of the war and the other prominent men bound in chains. But—what most of all was worthy of admiration about him—though he had received so great power for six months, he did not take full advantage of the law, but having called the people together in assembly and given them an account of his achievements, he abdicated his magistracy. And when the senate wanted him to accept as much of the conquered land as he wished, together with slaves and money out of the spoils, and to relieve his poverty with deserved riches which he had acquired most honourably from the enemy by his own toils, he refused to do so. Also when his friends and relations offered him magnificent gifts and placed their greatest happiness in assisting such a man, he thanked them for their zeal, but would accept none of their presents. Instead, he returned again to that small farm of his and resumed his life of a farmer working his own land in preference to the life of a king, glorying more in his poverty than others in their riches. Not long afterwards Nautius also, the other consul, returned to Rome with his forces, after defeating the Sabines in a pitched battle and over-running a large part of their country.

XXVI After these consuls ¹ came the eighty-first Olympiad ² (the one at which Polymnastus of Cyrenê

¹ For chaps 26-30 cf Livy iii 30

² 455 B C

⁵ μετελήθει AB · μετείληφε R.

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Κυρηναῖος, Ἀθήνησι δὲ ἄρχων Καλλίας, ἐφ' οὗ τὴν ὑπατον ἀρχὴν ἐν Ῥώμῃ παρέλαβον¹ Γάιος Ὀράτιος καὶ Κόιντος Μηνύκιος. ἐπὶ τούτων Σαβῖνοι πάλιν στρατεύσαντες ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίους πολλὴν τῆς χώρας αὐτῶν ἐδήωσαν, καὶ ἦκον οἱ φυγόντες ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν ἀθρόοι κρατεῖσθαι πάντα ὑπ' αὐτῶν τὰ μεταξὺ Κρουστομερίας τε καὶ Φιδήνης λέγοντες.

² Αἰκανοὶ τε οἱ νεωστὶ καταπολεμηθέντες ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις αὐθις ἦσαν· καὶ οἱ μὲν ἀκμαιότατοι αὐτῶν νυκτὸς ἐλάσαντες ἐπὶ Κορβιῶνα πόλιν, ἣν τῷ² παρελθόντι ἐνιαυτῷ Ῥωμαίοις παρέδοσαν, τὴν τε φρουρὰν τὴν ἐν αὐτῇ κοιμωμένην εὐρόντες κατέσφαξαν πλὴν ὀλίγων, οἱ ἔτυχον ἀφυστεροῦντες, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ μεγάλην χειρὶ στρατεύσαντες ἐπὶ πόλιν Ὀρτῶνα³ τοῦ Λατίνων ἔθνους ἐξ ἐφόδου καταλαμβάνονται, καὶ ὅσα Ῥωμαίους οὐχ οἰοί τε ἦσαν ἐργάσασθαι, ταῦτα δι' ὀργὴν τοὺς συμμάχους αὐτῶν διέθεσαν· τοὺς μὲν γὰρ ἐν ἡβῃ πάντας, πλὴν εἴ τινας διέφυγον εὐθὺς ἀλικομένης τῆς πόλεως, ἀπέκτειναν, γυναῖκας δὲ καὶ παῖδας αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ γηραιὰ τῶν σωμάτων ἠνδραποδίσαντο, καὶ τῶν χρημάτων ὅσα δύναμις ἦν αὐτοῖς φέρειν συσκευασάμενοι κατὰ σπουδὴν, πρὶν ἅπαντας ἐπιβοηθῆσαι

⁴ Λατίνους, ἀνέστρεψαν.⁴ τούτων δὲ ἅμα προσαγγελλομένων ὑπὸ τε Λατίνων καὶ τῶν ἐκ τῆς φρουρᾶς διασωθέντων ἡ μὲν βουλὴ στρατιὰν ἐκπέμπειν ἐψηφίσατο καὶ τοὺς ὑπάτους ἀμφοτέρους πορεύεσθαι οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Οὐεργίνιον δήμαρχοι πέμπτον

¹ Kiessling : παρέλαβε O.

² ἦν τῷ B : ἦν ἐν τῷ R.

³ πόλιν Ὀρτῶνα Kiessling : πόλιν . . ρτῶνα Ba, πόλιν . . βοτῶνα Bb, πόλιν βιρτῶνα A.

BOOK X. 26, 1-4

won the foot-race), the archon at Athens being Callias, in whose term of office Gaius Horatius¹ and Quintus Minucius succeeded to the consulship at Rome. During their term of office the Sabines made another expedition against the Romans and laid waste much of their territory; and the country people who had fled from their fields arrived in great numbers, reporting that all the country between Crustumernum and Fidenae was in possession of the enemy. The Aequians also, who had been recently conquered, were once more in arms. The flower of their army, marching by night to the city of Corbio, which they had handed over to the Romans the year before, and finding the garrison there asleep, put all to the sword except a few who chanced to be late to bed. The rest of the Aequians marched in great force to Ortona, a city of the Latin nation, and took it by storm, and the injuries they were unable to inflict on the Romans they inflicted in their resentment on the Romans' allies. For they put to death all the men who were in the prime of life except those who had escaped at once while the city was being taken, and enslaved their wives and children together with the aged; then, hastily gathering together all the possessions they could carry off, they returned home before all the Latins could come to the rescue. As news of these disasters was brought simultaneously both by the Latins and by those of the garrison who had escaped, the senate voted to send out an army and that both consuls should take the field. But Verginius and his fellow tribunes, who held the same

¹ Livy gives the name as M. Horatius Pulvillus.

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ἔτος ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς ὄντες ἐξουσίας ἐκώλουν, ὥσπερ καὶ ἐν τοῖς πρότερον ἐποιοῦν ἔτεσιν, ἐνιστάμενοι ταῖς στρατολογίαις τῶν ὑπάτων, τὸν ἐντὸς τείχους πρῶτον ἀξιοῦντες καταλυθῆναι πόλεμον ἀποδοθείσης τῷ δήμῳ τῆς περὶ τοῦ νόμου διαγνώσεως ὃν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἰσηγορίας εἰσέφερον, ὃ τε δῆμος αὐτοῖς συνελάμβανε πολλοὺς κατὰ τῆς βουλῆς καὶ ἐπι-
 5 φθόνους διεξιούσι λόγους. ἐλκομένου δὲ τοῦ χρόνου καὶ οὔτε τῶν ὑπάτων ὑπομενόντων προβουλευσαί τε καὶ εἰς τὸν δῆμον ἐξενεγκεῖν τὸν νόμον, οὔτε τῶν δημάρχων συγχωρῆσαι βουλομένων τὴν καταγραφὴν καὶ τὴν ἔξοδον τῆς στρατιᾶς γενέσθαι, λόγων τε πολλῶν καὶ κατηγοριῶν ἃς ἐποιοῦντο κατ' ἀλλήλων ἐν τε ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς βουλῆς μάτην ἀναλίσκομένων, ἑτέρα τις εἰσαχθεῖσα ὑπὸ τῶν δημάρχων ἐπὶ τῇ βουλῇ πολιτεία καὶ παρακρουσαμένη τὸ συνέδριον τὴν μὲν τότε κατέχουσαν στάσιν ἐπράυνεν, ἐτέρων δὲ πολλῶν καὶ μεγάλων ἐγένετο πλεονεκτημάτων αἰτία τῷ δήμῳ διηγῆσθαι δὲ καὶ ταύτην τὴν δυναστείαν ὃν τρόπον ὁ δῆμος ἔλαβε.

XXVII. Φθειρομένης¹ καὶ διαρπαζομένης τῆς τε Ῥωμαίων καὶ τῶν συμμάχων γῆς, καὶ τῶν πολεμίων ὡς δι' ἐρημίας ἐλαυνόντων κατ' ἐλπίδα τοῦ μηδεμίαν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἐξελεύσεσθαι δύναμιν διὰ τὴν κατέχουσαν ἐν τῇ πόλει στάσιν, οἱ μὲν ὑπατοὶ τὴν βουλὴν συνήγαγον, ὡς περὶ τῶν ὅλων ἔσχατον
 2 τοῦτο βουλευσόμενοι.² ῥηθέντων δὲ πολλῶν λόγων πρῶτος ἐρωτηθεὶς γνώμην Λεύκιος Κοῖντιος, ὁ τῷ παρελθόντι γενόμενος ἔτει δικτάτωρ, ἀνὴρ οὐ μόνον

¹ φθειρομένης B : φερομένης A

² βουλευσόμενοι R : βουλευόμενοι AB.

power for the fifth year, sought to prevent this, as they had also done in the preceding years, opposing the levies announced by the consuls and demanding that the war inside the walls should first be terminated by allowing the populace to decide about the law which the tribunes were trying to introduce regarding an equality of rights; and the populace joined with them in uttering many invidious charges against the senate. But as the time dragged on and neither the consuls would consent to a preliminary vote by the senate or to the laying of the law before the populace, nor the tribunes to allow the levies to be made and the army to take the field, and many speeches were made and charges hurled back and forth both in the meetings of the assembly and in the senate, all in vain, another measure that was introduced against the senate and misled its members did indeed appease the dissension then raging, but proved the source of many other great gains to the populace. I shall now give an account of the manner in which the populace secured this power.

XXVII While the territory of both the Romans and their allies was being laid waste and plundered and the enemy marched through it as through a solitude, in the confidence that no army would come out against them by reason of the dissension then raging in the city, the consuls assembled the senate with the intention of deliberating finally this time about the whole situation. After many speeches had been made, the person who was first asked his opinion was Lucius Quintus, who had been dictator the year before, a man who had the reputation of being not

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τὰ πολέμια δεινότατος τῶν καθ' ἑαυτόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ πολιτικὰ δοκῶν εἶναι φρονιμώτατος, γνώμην ἀπεφάνετο τήνδε¹. μάλιστα μὲν πείθειν² τοὺς τε δημάρχους καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους πολίτας τὴν μὲν ὑπὲρ τοῦ νόμου διάγνωσιν οὐθέν ἐν τῷ παρόντι κατεπείγουσαν εἰς ἑτέρους ἀναβαλέσθαι καιροὺς ἐπιτηδαιοτέρους, τὸν δ' ἐν χερσὶν ὄντα καὶ ὅσον οὐπὼ τῇ πόλει πλησιάζοντα πόλεμον ἄρασθαι πάσῃ προθυμίᾳ, καὶ μὴ περιδεῖν τὴν μετὰ πολλῶν κτηθείσαν ἡγεμονίαν πόνων αἰσchrῶς καὶ ἀνάνδρως ἀπολο-
³ μένην. ἂν δὲ μὴ πείθῃται ὁ δῆμος, τοὺς πατρικίους ἅμα τοῖς πελάταις καθοπλισαμένους τῶν τ' ἄλλων πολιτῶν παραλαβόντας ὅσοις³ ἦν ἐκούσι συνάρασθαι τοῦ καλλίστου περὶ⁴ τῆς πατρίδος ἀγῶνος, χωρεῖν προθύμως ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον θεοὺς ὅσοι φυλάττουσι τὴν Ῥωμαίων πόλιν ἡγεμόνας τῆς ἐξόδου ποιησα-
⁴ μένους. συμβῆσεσθαι γὰρ αὐτοῖς δυεῖν καλῶν ἔργων καὶ δικαίων θάτερον, ἢ νίκην ἐξενέγκασθαι πασῶν ὧν αὐτοὶ ποτε ἢ οἱ πατέρες ἐξηνέγκαντο λαμπροτάτην, ἢ περὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ καλῶν εὐψύχως ἀγωνιζομένοις ἀποθανεῖν. ταύτης μέντοι τῆς καλῆς πείρας οὗτ' αὐτὸς ἀπολείψεσθαι ἔφη, ἀλλ' ἐν ἴσῳ τοῖς κράτιστα ἔρρωμένοις παρῶν ἀγωνιεῖσθαι, οὕτε τῶν ἄλλων τινὰ πρεσβυτέρων οἷς ἐστὶν ἐλευθερίας τε καὶ δόξης ἀγαθῆς λόγος.

XXVIII. Ὡς δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασιν ταύτ' ἐδόκει καὶ οὐθεὶς ἦν ὁ τάναντία ἔρων, οἱ μὲν ὑπατοὶ τὸν δῆμον εἰς ἐκκλησίαν συνεκάλουν. συνελθόντος δ' ὡς ἐπὶ καινοῖς ἀκούσμασι παντὸς τοῦ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ὄχλου παρελθὼν ἄτερος τῶν ὑπάτων Γάιος

¹ τήνδε Jacoby · ἐν ἡ Bb, om. R

² πείθειν ABa . πείθει Bb.

only the ablest general but also the wisest statesman of his time. The opinion he expressed was as follows. That they should preferably persuade both the tribunes and the rest of the citizens to postpone to more suitable times their decision regarding the law, which was not at all pressing at the moment, and to undertake with all alacrity the war that was at hand and all but at their gates, and not to allow their empire, which they had acquired with many toils, to be lost in a shameful and pusillanimous fashion. But if the populace would not be persuaded, he advised that the patricians should arm themselves together with their clients, and associating with themselves such of the other citizens as were willing to take part in this most glorious struggle for the fatherland, to engage in the war with alacrity, taking as leaders of the expedition all the gods who protect the Roman state. For one or the other of two honourable and just destinies would be theirs: they would either win a victory more brilliant than all which they or their ancestors had ever won, or die fighting bravely for the noble prizes that victory brings with it. He added that neither he himself would be wanting in this glorious enterprise, but would be present and fight with a spirit equal to that of the most robust, nor would any others of the older men be wanting who had any regard for liberty and a good name.

XXVIII. All the others approving of this advice and there being no one to speak in opposition, the consuls called an assembly of the populace, and when all the people of the city had come together in expectation of hearing something new, Gaius

³ Post : οἷς O, Jacoby

⁴ περὶ added by Post, ὑπὲρ by Reiske.

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Ὅρατιος ἐπειράτο πείθειν τοὺς δημοτικοὺς ἐκόντας
 ὑπομεῖναι καὶ ταύτην τὴν στρατείαν ἀντιλεγόν-
 των δὲ τῶν δημάρχων καὶ τοῦ δήμου προσέχοντας
 αὐτοῖς τὸν νοῦν παρελθὼν πάλιν ὁ ὑπάτος εἶπε·
 2 “ Καλὸν γ’¹, ὦ² Οὐεργίνιε, καὶ θαυμαστὸν ἔργον
 ἐξειργάσασθε διασπάσαντες ἀπὸ τῆς βουλῆς τὸν
 δῆμον καὶ τὸ μὲν ἐφ’ ὑμῖν εἶναι μέρος πάντ’ ἀπ-
 ολωλέκαμεν ὅσα παρὰ τῶν προγόνων παραλαβόντες
 ἢ τοῖς ἑαυτῶν πόνοις κτησάμενοι κατέσχομεν
 3 ἀγαθὰ.³ οὐ μὴν ἡμεῖς γ’ ἀκονιτὶ μεθησόμεθα
 αὐτῶν, ἀλλ’ ἀναλαβόντες τὰ ὄπλα μετὰ τῶν βουλο-
 μένων σώζεσθαι τὴν πατρίδα χωρήσομεν ἐπὶ τὸν
 ἀγῶνα τὰς ἀγαθὰς προβαλλόμενοι τῶν ἔργων
 ἐλπίδας· καὶ εἴ τις ἄρα θεὸς ἐπισκοπεῖ τοὺς καλοὺς
 καὶ δικαίους ἀγῶνας, καὶ ἢ τὴν πόλιν τήνδε αὖ-
 ξουσα ἐκ πολλοῦ⁴ τύχῃ μήπω⁵ προλέλοιπεν αὐτήν,
 κρείττους τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἐσόμεθα· εἰ δέ τις ἄρα
 ἐνέστηκε δαίμων καὶ ἐναντιοῦται τῇ σωτηρίᾳ τῆς
 πόλεως, οὗτοι τό γ’ ἐν ἡμῖν εὖνουν καὶ πρόθυμον
 ἀπολείται, ἀλλὰ τὸν ἀπάντων κράτιστον θάνατον
 4 αἰρησόμεθα περὶ τῆς πατρίδος ὑμεῖς δὲ αὐτοῦ
 μένοντες οἰκουρεῖτε ἅμα ταῖς γυναιξίν, ὧ καλοὶ καὶ
 γενναῖοι προστάται τῆς πόλεως, ἐγκαταλιπόντες,
 μᾶλλον δὲ προδόντες, ἡμᾶς, οἷς οὗτ’ ἂν νικήσωμεν
 ἡμεῖς⁶ ὁ’ βίος⁸ ἔσται καλός, οὗτ’ ἂν ἄλλως χωρήσῃ
 5 τὰ καθ’ ἡμᾶς ἀσφαλῆς· εἰ μὴ ἄρα ἐκείνῃ τῇ ψυχρᾷ
 ἐλπίδι ἐπαίρεσθε, ὥς διαφθαρέντων τῶν πατρικίων
 ὑμᾶς ἐάσουσιν οἱ πολέμιοι ταύτην ὑπολογιζόμενοι

¹ γ’ added by Cobet.

² ὦ B · om. R

³ ἀγαθὰ R τὰγαθὰ B, om. Garrer

⁴ πολλοῦ B · πολλοῦ χρόνου R

⁵ μήπω ABa . εἰ μήπω Bb.

BOOK X. 28, 1-5

Horatius, one of the consuls, came forward and attempted to persuade the plebeians to submit willingly to this campaign also. But as the tribunes opposed this and the populace gave heed to them, the consul again came forward and said "A fine and wonderful thing, indeed, have you tribunes accomplished, Verginius, in dividing the populace from the senate; and, so far as it rests with you, we have lost all the advantages which we possessed, whether inherited from our ancestors or acquired by our own toils. As for us, however, we shall not part with them without a struggle, but shall take up arms along with all who desire the preservation of the fatherland and shall enter the struggle holding before our deeds the buckler of fair hopes¹. And if any god watches over noble and just struggles, and if Fortune, which long has been exalting this commonwealth, has not yet abandoned it, we shall have the victory over our enemies; or, if any divinity is opposed to and stands in the way of the preservation of the commonwealth, at any rate our affection and zeal for it will not perish, but we shall choose the best of all deaths—to die for the fatherland. As for you, stay here and keep house with the women, O fine and noble protectors of the commonwealth, after abandoning, or rather betraying, us; but life for you will be neither honourable, if we conquer, nor safe, if things go otherwise with us. Unless, indeed, you are buoying yourselves up with the bleak hope that when the patricians are all destroyed the enemy will spare you in consideration of

¹ The figure is borrowed from Demosthenes, *De Cor.* 97.

⁷ δ A . om. B. ⁶ ἡμεῖς B : om R ⁸ βίος B : βίος ἡμῶν A

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τὴν εὐεργεσίαν, καὶ συγχωρήσουσιν ὑμῖν τὴν πα-
 τρίδα καὶ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν καὶ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν καὶ
 πάντα τὰλλα ἀγαθὰ ὅσα νῦν ἔχετε καρποῦσθαι, ὧν
 ὑμεῖς ὅτε τὰ ἄριστα ἐφρονεῖτε πολλὴν μὲν γῆν
 ἀπετέμεσθε, πολλὰς δὲ πόλεις ἐξανδραποδισάμενοι
 κατεσκάψατε, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ μεγάλα καὶ οὐδ' ὑπὸ
 τοῦ παντός αἰῶνος ἀφανισθησόμενα τρόπαια καὶ
 6 μνημεῖα τῆς ἔχθρας ἀνεστήσατε. ἀλλὰ τί τῷ δήμῳ
 ταῦτ' ἐπιτιμῶ, ὃς οὐδέποτε πονηρὸς ἐκὼν ἐγένετο,
 μᾶλλον ἢ οὐχ ὑμῖν, ὦ Οὐεργίνιε, τοῖς τὰ καλὰ ταῦ-
 τα πολιτευομένοις; ἡμῖν μὲν οὖν, οἷς ἀνάγκη μηδὲν
 ταπεινὸν φρονεῖν, δέδοκται τε καὶ οὐθὲν ἔσται τὸ
 κωλύσον ἄρασθαι τὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος ἀγῶνα,
 ὑμῖν δὲ τοῖς ἐγκαταλείπουσι¹ καὶ προδιδούσι² τὸ
 κοινὸν ἥξει δίκη τιμωρὸς οὐ μεμπτή παρὰ θεῶν,
 ἐὰν ἄρα διαφύγητε τὴν παρ' ἀνθρώπων κόλασιν.
 7 ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ταύτην³ διαφεύξεσθε· καὶ μὴ με δεδίτ-
 τεσθαι ὑπολάβητε, ἀλλ' εὖ ἴστε ὅτι οἱ καταλει-
 φθέντες ἡμῶν ἐνθάδε φύλακες τῆς πόλεως, ἐὰν
 κρείττω τὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν γένηται, φρονήσουσιν ἃ
 προσήκεν αὐτοῖς φρονεῖν οὐ γὰρ ἤδη βαρβάρους
 μὲν τισιν ἀλίσκομένοις ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων εἰς νοῦν
 ἦλθε μήτε γυναικῶν αὐτοῖς παραχωρήσαι μήτε
 παίδων μήτε πόλεων, ἀλλὰ τὰς μὲν ἐμπρῆσαι, τὰς⁴
 8 δὲ κατασφάξαι, Ῥωμαίοις δ' ἄρα, οἷς ἐτέρων ἄρχειν
 πάτριόν ἐστιν, οὐ παραστήσεται ταῦτα περὶ ἑαυτῶν
 φρονεῖν; οὐχ οὕτως ἀγεννεῖς ἔσονται, ἀλλ' ἀφ'
 ὑμῶν τῶν ἐχθίστων ἀρξάμενοι τότε χωρήσουσι

¹ ἐγκαταλείπουσι R : ἐγκαταλιποῦσι Bb, Jacoby.

² προδιδούσι O : προδοῦσι Cobet, Jacoby.

³ ταύτην γε A.

⁴ τὰς A · τὰ B, τοὺς Sylburg.

this service and will allow you to enjoy your country, your liberty, your empire and all the other blessings you now have, notwithstanding that you, when you displayed the noblest spirit, deprived these very enemies of much land, razed many of their cities and enslaved their inhabitants, and erected many great trophies and monuments of your enmity against them which not even all time to come will ever blot out. But why do I charge this against the populace, which never became cowardly of its own accord, and not rather against you tribunes, Verginius, who are the authors of these fine measures ? We, then, who must needs show no ignoble spirit, have taken our resolution and nothing shall hinder us from undertaking the struggle in defence of the fatherland ; but upon you, who abandon and betray the commonwealth, will come a punishment not to be scorned, as vengeance from the gods, if so be that you escape the punishment of men , yet you will not escape that either. And do not imagine that I am trying to terrify you, but be assured that those of us who will be left behind here to guard the city shall, in case the enemy should prove victorious, show that spirit which it befits them to show. Have there not indeed been instances already of barbarians who, when they were on the point of being captured by the enemy, resolved not to yield to them either their wives, their children or their cities, but to burn the cities and slay their dear ones ? And will it fail, then, to occur to the Romans, to whom it is a heritage from their fathers to rule over others, to show this same spirit in their own case ? They will never be so degenerate, but will begin with you who are their worst enemies and only afterwards

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πρὸς τὰ φίλια. πρὸς ταῦτα ὁρῶντες ἐκκλησιάζετε καὶ νόμους εἰσφέρετε καινούς."

XXIX. Ταῦτα καὶ πολλὰ τούτοις ὅμοια εἰπὼν παρεστήσατο τοὺς πρεσβυτάτους τῶν πατρικίων κλαίοντας, οὓς ἰδόντες πολλοὶ τῶν δημοτικῶν οὐδ' αὐτοὶ κατέχειν τὰ δάκρυα ἐδύναντο γενομένης δὲ πολλῆς συμπαθείας πρὸς τε τὰς ἡλικίας τῶν ἀνδρῶν καὶ πρὸς τὰς ἀξίας μικρὸν ἐπισχῶν ὁ ὕπατος, "Οὐκ αἰσχύνεσθε," ἔφησεν, "ὦ πολῖται, οὐδὲ κατὰ γῆς δύεσθε, εἰ οἶδε οἱ γέροντες ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν τῶν νέων τὰ ὅπλα ἀναλήψονται, ἀλλ' ὑπομενεῖτε ἀπολειφθῆναι τούτων ἡγουμένων, οὓς αἰὲν πατέρας ἐκαλεῖτε; ὦ σχέτλιοι ὑμεῖς καὶ οὐδὲ πολῖται ταύτης ἀξιοὶ λέγεσθαι τῆς γῆς, ἣν ἔκτισαν οἱ τοὺς πατέρας ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων ἐνέγκαντες, οἷς καὶ δι' ὀπλων καὶ διὰ πυρὸς ὁδοὺς ἀσφαλεῖς θεοὶ παρέσχον." ὥς δὲ κατέμαθεν ὁ² Οὐεργίνιος ἀγόμενον τὸν δῆμον ὑπὸ τῶν λόγων, δεδοικῶς μὴ παρὰ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ γνώμην κοινωνεῖν ὑπομείνη τοῦ πολέμου, παρελθὼν εἶπεν "Ἡμεῖς οὐτ' ἐγκαταλείπομεν οὐτε προδίδομεν ὑμᾶς, ὦ πατέρες, οὐδ' ἂν ἀπολειφθείμεν ὑμῶν, ὥσπερ οὐδὲ πρότερον ἡξιώσαμεν οὐδεμιᾶς ἀπολειφθῆναι στρατείας, ἀλλὰ καὶ ζῆν αἰρούμεθα σὺν ὑμῖν καὶ πάσχειν ὅ τι ἂν τῷ⁴ δαίμονι δοκῇ μεθ' ὑμῶν πρόθυμοι δ' ἐν παντὶ καιρῷ περὶ ὑμᾶς γεγονότες ἀξιούμεν³ μετρίας παρ' ὑμῶν τυχεῖν χάριτος, ὥσπερ τῶν κοινῶν κινδύνων ἰσομοιροῦμεν ὑμῖν, οὕτως καὶ τῶν δικαίων τὸ ἴσον

¹ λέγεσθαι B : om. R

² ὁ Steph om AB.

³ ἀξιούμεν A : ἡξιούμεν B.

turn to their loved ones. Consider these matters before you hold your assemblies and introduce new laws ”

XXIX After he had said this and many things to the same purport, he brought before them the oldest patricians in tears, at sight of whom many of the plebeians could not even themselves refrain from weeping. When great compassion had been aroused both by the age and the dignity of these men, the consul, after a short pause, said “ Are you not ashamed, citizens, and ready to sink beneath the earth, when these old men are going to take up arms in defence of you who are young ? Will you bear to abandon these leaders whom you always called fathers ? Wretched men that you are, and unworthy even to be called citizens of this land settled by men who carried their fathers on their shoulders,¹ men to whom the gods granted a safe passage through aims and through fire ! ” When Verginius perceived that the people were moved by these words, he was afraid lest, contrary to his desire, they might consent to join in the war ; and coming forward, he said : “ As for us, we are neither abandoning nor betraying you, fathers, nor would we desert you, even as we have hitherto never declined taking part in any expedition ; on the contrary, we choose both to live with you and to suffer with you whatever Heaven shall decree But since we have at all times been zealous in your service, we desire to receive from you a moderate favour—that, even as we share the common dangers with you, so we may also enjoy an equality

¹ Dionysius generalizes the well-known legend concerning Aeneas and his father Anchises in their flight from burning Troy

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ἔχειν, νόμους καταστησάμενοι φύλακας¹ τῆς ἐλευ-
 5 θερίας, οἷς ἅπαντες αἰεὶ χρησόμεθα. εἰ δὲ προσ-
 ἵσταται τοῦθ' ὑμῖν, καὶ οὐκ ἀξιοῦτε τοῖς ἑαυτῶν
 πολίταις ταύτην συγχωρῆσαι τὴν χάριν, ἀλλὰ θανά-
 του τιμᾶσθε τὸ μεταδοῦναι τῷ δήμῳ τῆς ἰση-
 γορίας, οὐκέτι φιλονεικοῦμεν ὑμῖν· αἰτησόμεθα δ'
 ἑτέραν παρ' ὑμῶν χάριν, ἥς τυχόντες ἴσως ἂν οὐδὲ
 καινῶν ἔτι δεηθείημεν νόμων· εἰσέρχεται δ' ἡμᾶς
 εὐλάβεια, μή ποτε οὐδὲ ταύτης τύχωμεν, ἐξ ἧς
 τῇ βουλῇ μὲν οὐδὲν ἔσται βλάβος, τῷ δὲ δήμῳ τιμὴ
 τις ὑπάρξει καὶ φιланθρωπία."

XXX Εἰπόντος δὲ τοῦ ὑπάτου ὅτι τοῦτο τὸ
 πολίτευμα τῇ βουλῇ συγχωροῦντες οὐθενὸς ἄλλου
 ἀμαρτήσονται τῶν μετρίων, καὶ κελεύοντος λέγειν
 ὅτου δέονται, ὀλίγα διαλεχθεῖς τοῖς συνάρχουσιν ὁ
 2 Οὐεργίνιος ἐπὶ τῆς βουλῆς ἔφησεν ἑρεῖν καὶ μετὰ
 ταῦτα συναγαγόντων τὸ συνέδριον τῶν ὑπάτων παρ-
 ελθῶν καὶ τὰ δίκαια τοῦ δήμου πρὸς τὴν βουλὴν
 ἅπαντα εἰσενεγκάμενος² ᾗτήσατο διπλασιασθῆναι
 τὴν ἀρχὴν τὴν προισταμένην τοῦ δήμου, καὶ ἀντὶ
 τῶν πέντε δημάρχων δέκα εἰς ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτὸν
 ἀποδείκνυσθαι. τοῦτο οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι βλάβην οὐδε-
 μίαν ᾤοντο τῷ κοινῷ φέρειν, ἀλλὰ διδόναι καὶ μὴ
 ἀντιπράττειν παρήνουν, ἄρχοντος τῆς γνώμης Λευ-
 κίου Κουντίου, τοῦ τότε μέγιστον ἔχοντος ἐν τῇ
 3 βουλῇ κράτος. εἰς δὲ μόνος ἀντέλεγε Γάιος Κλαύ-
 διος, υἱὸς Ἀππίου Κλαυδίου, τοῦ παρὰ πάντα τὸν
 χρόνον τοῖς εἰσηγήμασι τῶν δημοτικῶν, εἴ τινα μὴ
 νόμιμα ἦν, ἐναντιωθέντος, διαδεδεγμένος τὰ πολι-

¹ φύλακας om A.

² εἰσενεγκάμενος A : ἐνεγκάμενος B, εἰς ἐν συνενεγκάμενος Reiske.

of rights, by instituting as safeguards of our liberty laws which we shall all alike use always. However, if this proposal offends you and you do not deign to grant this favour to your fellow citizens, but regard it as a capital crime to give the populace an equal share of rights, we shall no longer contend with you ; but we shall ask another favour of you, upon obtaining which we may possibly no longer stand in need of new laws. We have a shrewd suspicion, however, that we shall not obtain even this favour—one which, while doing no injury to the senate, will bring to the populace a kind of honour and general goodwill ”

XXX When the consul replied that if the tribunes would yield on this measure to the senate they would be denied nothing else that was reasonable, and ordered him to state what they desired, Verginius, after a short conference with his colleagues, said he would announce it in the senate. Thereupon, when the consuls had convened the senate, Verginius came forward, and after presenting to that body all the just demands of the populace, asked that the magistracy which protected the populace should be doubled and that instead of five tribunes ten should be chosen every year. Most of the senators thought this would cause no harm to the commonwealth and advised granting it without offering any opposition ; this opinion was first offered by Lucius Quintus, who at that time had the greatest authority in the senate. Only one person, Gaius Claudius, spoke against it. He was the son of Appius Claudius, who had on every occasion opposed the measures of the plebeians when any of them were contrary to law ; he had inherited

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τεύματα τοῦ πατρός, καὶ ὅτ' αὐτὸς εἶχε τὴν ὑπατον ἀρχὴν κωλύσας δοθῆναι τοῖς δημάρχοις τὴν κατὰ τῶν ἱππέων τῶν ἐπὶ¹ τῇ συνωμοσίᾳ διαβαλλομένων ἐξέτασιν, καὶ μακρὸν διεξελθὼν λόγον ἐδίδασκεν ὅτι μετριώτερος μὲν ὁ δῆμος οὐδὲν οὐδὲ χρηστότερος ἔσται διπλασιασθείσης αὐτῷ τῆς ἀρχῆς, 4 ἀνοητότερος δὲ καὶ βαρύτερος οὐ γὰρ ἐπὶ ῥητοῖς τισι παραλήψεσθαι τὴν ἀρχὴν τοὺς ὕστερον ἀποδειχθησομένους, ὥστε μένειν ἐπὶ τοῖς καθεστηκόσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν περὶ τῆς κληρουχίας αὐθις προθήσειν² λόγον³ καὶ τὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἰσοτιμίας,⁴ καὶ πάντας ἐξῆς ζητήσιν ὃ τι λέγοντες ἢ πράττοντες τὸ μὲν τοῦ δήμου κράτος αὐξήσουσι, τὰς δὲ τῆς βουλῆς τιμὰς καταλύσουσι. καὶ σφόδρα ἐκίνησε 5 τοὺς πολλοὺς ὁ λόγος. ἔπειτα μετήγαγεν αὐτοὺς ὁ Κοίντιος διδάσκων ὅτι πρὸς τῆς βουλῆς ἐστὶ τὸ πολλοὺς εἶναι τοῦ δήμου προστάτας. ἦττον γὰρ ὁμονοήσιν τοὺς πλείους⁵ τῶν ἐλαττόνων, μίαν δὲ βοήθειαν εἶναι τοῖς κοινοῖς, ἣν Ἀππίον Κλαύδιον τὸν Γαῖου πατέρα πρῶτον ἰδεῖν, ἐὰν στασιάξῃ τὸ 6 ἀρχεῖον⁶ καὶ μὴ πᾶσι τὸ αὐτὸ δοκῇ. ἐδόκει τε δὴ ταῦτα καὶ γίνεται δόγμα βουλῆς· ἐξεῖναι τῷ δήμῳ δέκα δημάρχους καθ' ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτὸν ἀποδεικνύναι, τῶν δὲ τότε ὄντων ἐν ἀρχῇ μηθένα. τοῦτο τὸ προβούλευμα οἱ περὶ τὸν Οὐεργίνιον λαβόντες ἐξήνεγκαν καὶ κυρώσαντες τὸν ἐπ' αὐτῷ γραφέντα

¹ ἐπὶ Sylburg · ἐν O

² προθήσειν B : προσθήσειν R.

³ νόμον Cobet.

⁴ ἰσονομίας Spelman, Cobet.

⁵ Sylburg : πλείους O.

⁶ Sylburg · ἀρχον O.

the political principles of his father, and when he himself was consul, had prevented the inquiry concerning the knights accused of conspiracy from being committed to the tribunes. This man made a long speech, pointing out that the populace, if their magistracy were doubled, would not be any more moderate or worthy, but more stupid and more troublesome. For the tribunes to be chosen thereafter, he said, would not receive the magistracy upon certain definite terms, so as to adhere to the established customs, but would again bring up the question of the allotment of lands and that of an equality of privileges,¹ and all of them in turn would seek both by their words and by their actions to increase the power of the populace and abolish the privileges of the senate. This speech had a great effect upon most of the senators. Then Quintus brought them over again by showing that it was to the interest of the senate that there should be many champions of the populace. For there would be less harmony among many than among a few, and there was just one way of relieving the commonwealth, a way that Appius Claudius, the father of Gaius, had been the first to perceive—namely, if there should be dissension and lack of unanimity in the college of tribunes. This opinion prevailed, and the senate passed a decree that the populace should be permitted to appoint ten tribunes each year, but that no one of the men then in office should be eligible. Verginius and his colleagues, having got this preliminary decree from the senate, laid it before the populace; and when they had secured the rati-

¹ Or "honours," in the sense of "offices." Spelman and Cobet would read "equality of laws."

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νόμον δέκα δημάρχους εἰς τὸν ἐπιόντα ἐνιαυτὸν ἀπέδειξαν.

- 7 Πausαμένης δὲ τῆς στάσεως καταγράψαντες τὰς δυνάμεις οἱ ὕπατοι διεκληρώσαντο τὰς ἐξόδους· Μηνυκίῳ μὲν οὖν ὁ κατὰ Σαβίνων πόλεμος ἐδόθη, Ὀρατίῳ δὲ ὁ κατ' Αἰκανῶν, καὶ κατὰ σπουδὴν ἐξήεσαν ἀμφότεροι. Σαβῖνοι μὲν οὖν τὰς πόλεις διὰ φυλακῆς ἔχοντες ὑπερεῖδον ἀγομένων τε καὶ φερομένων ἀπάντων τῶν κατὰ τοὺς ἀγρούς, Αἰκανοὶ δὲ τὴν ἐναντιωσομένην Ῥωμαίοις δύναμιν
8 ἀπέστειλαν ἀγωνισάμενοι δὲ λαμπρῶς οὐχ οἰοὶ τε ἐγένοντο τὴν Ῥωμαίων ὑπερβαλέσθαι δύναμιν, ἀλλ' ἠναγκάσθησαν εἰς τὰς πόλεις ἀπελθεῖν ἀποβαλόντες τὸ πολίχνιον ὑπὲρ οὗ τὸν ἀγῶνα ἐποιούνητο. Ὀράτιος δὲ τρεψάμενος τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ πολλὰ τῆς χώρας αὐτῶν κακώσας τοῦ τε Κορβινῶνος τὰ τείχη κατασπάσας καὶ τὰς οἰκῆσεις ἐκ θεμελίων ἀνελὼν ἀπῆγε τὴν δύναμιν ἐπ' οἴκου

XXXI. Τῷ δ' ἐξῆς ἔτει Μάρκου Οὐαλερίου καὶ Σπορίου Οὐεργινίου τὴν ὑπατείαν ἐχόντων στρατιὰ μὲν ὑπερόριος οὐδεμία ἐξῆλθε Ῥωμαίων, πολιτικὰ δὲ τινα¹ προσκρούσματα² τοῖς δημάρχοις πρὸς τοὺς ὑπάτους συνέστη πάλιν, ἐξ ὧν ἔσχον οἱ δήμαρχοι παρασπάσαντές τι τῆς ὑπατικῆς δυναστείας. τὸν μὲν γὰρ ἔμπροσθεν χρόνον ἐκκλησίας μόνον ἦσαν οἱ δήμαρχοι κύριοι, βουλὴν δὲ συνάγειν ἢ γνώμην ἀγορεύειν οὐκ ἐξῆν αὐτοῖς, ἀλλ' ἦν τῶν ὑπάτων
2 τοῦτο τὸ γέρας. οἱ δὲ τότε δήμαρχοι πρῶτοι συγκαλεῖν ἐπεβάλλοντο τὴν βουλὴν Ἰκκιλίου τὴν πείραν εἰσηγησαμένου, ὃς ἡγεῖτο μὲν τοῦ ἀρχείου, δραστήριος δὲ τις ἦν ἀνὴρ καὶ ὡς Ῥωμαῖος εἰπεῖν

¹ τινα B · om. R.

fication of the law embodying the measure, they chose ten tribunes for the following year

After the sedition was appeased the consuls enrolled their forces and drew lots for their commands. To Minucius fell the war against the Sabines and to Horatius that against the Aequians; and both set out in haste. The Sabines garrisoned their cities and permitted everything in the country districts to be pillaged; but the Aequians sent an army to oppose the Romans. Though they fought brilliantly, they were unable to overcome the Roman army, but were compelled to retire to their cities after the loss of the small town in defence of which they were fighting. Horatius, after putting the enemy to flight, ravaged a large part of their country, razed the walls of Corbio and demolished the houses to their foundations, then led his army home.

XXXI. The following year,¹ when Marcus Valerius and Spurius Verginius were consuls, no army of the Romans went out of their borders, but there were fresh outbreaks of civil strife between the tribunes and the consuls, as a result of which the former wrested away some part of the consular power. Before this time the power of the tribunes was limited to the popular assembly and they had no authority either to convene the senate or to express an opinion there, that being a prerogative of the consuls. The tribunes of the year in question were the first who undertook to convene the senate, the experiment being made by Icilius, the head of their college, a man of action and, for a Roman, not lacking in elo-

¹ For chaps 31 f. cf. LIVY III. 31, 1

² προσκρούσματα Β · προσκρούματα R

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οὐκ ἀδύνατος. εἰσέφερε γάρ τι καὶ οὗτος πολίτευμα
 καινὸν ἀξιῶν ἀπομερισθῆναι τοῖς δημόταις τόπον
 εἰς οἰκιῶν κατασκευὰς τὸν καλούμενον Αὐεντῖνον.
 ἔστι δὲ λόφος ὑψηλὸς ἐπιεικῶς, οὐκ ἐλάττων ἢ
 δώδεκα σταδίων τὴν περίμετρον, ἐμπεριεχόμενος
 τῇ πόλει, ὃς οὐχ ἅπας τότε ὤκειτο,¹ ἀλλ' ἦν δη-
 3 μόσιός τε καὶ ὕλης ἀνάπλεως τοῦτο τὸ πολίτευμα
 εἰσάγων ὃ δῆμαρχος τοῖς τότε ὑπάτοις καὶ τῇ
 βουλῇ προσῆει δεόμενος τὸν ἐπ'² αὐτῷ γραφέντα
 νόμον προβουλευσαί τε καὶ εἰς τὸν δῆμον ἐξενεγ-
 κεῖν. ἀναβαλλομένων δὲ καὶ παρελκόντων τῶν
 ὑπάτων τὸν χρόνον πέμψας τὸν ὑπηρέτην ὡς αὐ-
 τοὺς ἐκέλευσεν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀκολουθεῖν καὶ τὴν
 βουλήν συγκαλεῖν. ἐπεὶ δὲ τῶν ραβδούχων τις
 ἀπήλασε τὸν ὑπηρέτην κελευσθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν ὑπάτων,³
 ἀγανακτῆσας ὃ Ἰκίλλιος καὶ οἱ συνάρχοντες αὐτοῦ,
 συνέλαβον τὸν ραβδοῦχον καὶ ἀπήγον ὡς ρύμοντας
 4 κατὰ τῆς πέτρας. οἱ δὲ ὑπατοὶ βιάσασθαι μὲν ἢ
 τὸν ἀγόμενον ἀφελέσθαι, καίτοι δεινὰ δοκοῦντες
 ὑβρίσθαι, ἀδύνατοι ἦσαν, ἐπεκαλοῦντο δὲ τὴν ἐκ
 τῶν ἄλλων δημάρχων βοήθειαν οὐθὲν γὰρ τῶν
 πραττομένων ὑπὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐκείνης ἐπισχεῖν ἢ
 κωλύσαι τῶν ἄλλων τινὲ ἕξεστιν, ἀλλ' ἑτέρου δημ-
 5 ἀρχου τοῦτ' ἐστὶ τὸ κράτος. τοῖς δ' ἄρα πᾶσιν ἦν
 ταῦτα κατ' ἀρχὰς δεδογμένα μήτ' εἰσηγήσασθαι
 τινα καινὸν πολίτευμα μηθὲν ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ⁴ βαλό-
 μενον,⁵ ἔαν μὴ πᾶσι τὸ αὐτὸ δοκῇ, μήτε ἐναντιω-
 θῆναί τινα τοῖς πραττομένοις ὅς' ἂν⁶ αἱ πλείους

¹ ὤκειτο B : ὤκητο R.

² ἐπ' B : ἐν R

³ ὑπὸ τῶν ὑπάτων B : om R

quence For he too was at that time proposing a new measure, asking that the region called the Aventine be divided among the plebeians for the building of houses This is a hill of moderate height, not less than twelve stades in circuit, and is included within the city ; not all of it was then inhabited, but it was public land and thickly wooded In order to get this measure introduced, the tribune went to the consuls of the year and to the senate, asking them to pass the preliminary vote for the law embodying the measure and to submit it to the populace But when the consuls kept putting it off and protracting the time, he sent his attendant to them with orders that they should follow him to the office of the tribunes and call together the senate And when one of the lictors at the orders of the consuls drove away the attendant, Icilius and his colleagues in their resentment seized the lictor and led him away with the intention of hurling him down from the rock¹ The consuls, though they looked upon this as a great insult, were unable to use force or to rescue the man who was being led away, but invoked the assistance of the other tribunes ; for no one but another tribune has a right to stop or hinder any of the actions of those magistrates Now the tribunes had all come to this decision at the outset, that no one of their number should either introduce any new measure on his own initiative, unless they all concurred in it, or oppose any proceedings which met with the approval of the

¹ The Tarpeian Rock.

⁴ Kayser · *ἐαντῶ* O

⁵ *βαλλόμενον* B : *βουλόμενον* A.

⁶ *ὅς' ἂν* Jacoby, *ὅπερ ἂν* Kiessling, *ἅπερ ἂν* Kayser · *ὁ γὰρ* ἂν B, *ἀλλ' ὁ ἂν* A.

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γινῶμαι δοκιμάσῳσι¹. καὶ περὶ τούτων εὐθὺς ἅμα τῷ παραλαβεῖν τὴν ἀρχὴν ἱερὰ θύσαντες ὄρκους ἔδοσαν ἀλλήλοις, οὕτως οἰόμενοι μάλιστα τὸ τῆς δημαρχίας ἀκατάλυτον ἔσεσθαι κράτος, ἔαν τὸ
6 στασιάζον ἐξ αὐτῆς ἀναιρεθῇ. τοῦτο δὲ φυλάττοντες τὸ συνωμόσιον εἶπον ἀπάγεσθαι τὸν φύλακα τῆς ἀρχῆς τῶν ὑπάτων, κοινὴν ἀπάντων εἶναι λέγοντες τὴν γνώμην· οὐ μὴν διέμεινάν γ' ἐπὶ τῆς ὀργῆς, ἀλλὰ τοῖς πρεσβυτάτοις τῶν ἐκ τοῦ συνεδρίου παραιτούμενοις τὸν ἄνδρα ἀφῆκαν,² τὸν τε φθόνον ὑφορώμενοι τοῦ πράγματος, ὅτι πρῶτοι ἔμελλον θανάτῳ ζημιῶσαι ἄνδρα³ τὸ κελευσθὲν ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρχόντων ποιήσαντα, καὶ δεδοικότες μὴ ἀπὸ ταύτης τῆς προφάσεως εἰς ἀπόνοιαν ἀναγκασθῶσιν οἱ πατρίκιοι τραπέσθαι.

XXXII. Μετὰ τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον συναχθείσης τῆς βουλῆς οἱ μὲν ὑπατοὶ κατηγορίαν πολλήν τῶν δημάρχων ἐποίησαντο παραλαβὼν δὲ τὸν λόγον Ἰκίλλιος⁴ περὶ τε τῆς εἰς τὸν ὑπηρέτην ὀργῆς ἀπελογεῖτο τοὺς ἱεροὺς προφερόμενος νόμους, καθ' οὓς οὔτε ἄρχοντι οὔτ' ἰδιώτῃ συνεχωρεῖτο πράττειν οὐδὲν ἐναντίον δημάρχῳ, καὶ περὶ τοῦ συγκαλεῖν τὴν βουλὴν ἐδίδασκεν ὥς οὐθὲν εἴη πεποιηκὼς ἄτοπον, πολλοὺς καὶ παντοδαποὺς εἰς τοῦτο παρα-
2 σκευασάμενος λόγους ὥς δ' ἀπελύσατο ταύτας τὰς κατηγορίας, τὸν ὑπὲρ τοῦ λόφου νόμον⁵ εἰσέφερεν. ἦν δὲ τοιόσδε· ὅσα μὲν ἰδιωταὶ τινες εἶχον ἐκ τοῦ⁶ δικαίου κτησάμενοι, ταῦτα τοὺς κυρίους

¹ δοκιμάσῳσι AB δοκιμάσῳσι τοῦτ' εἶναι κύριον R.

² Sylburg · ἐφῆκαν O

³ ἄνδρα Reiske : τὸν ἄνδρα O, Jacoby

⁴ ἰκίλλιος AB : ὁ Ἰκίλλιος Steph., Jacoby

majority, and just as soon as they had assumed their magistracy they had confirmed this agreement by sacrifices and mutual oaths, believing that the power of the tribuneship would be most effectively rendered impregnable if dissension were banished from it. It was in pursuance, then, of this sworn compact that they ordered the consuls' guardian¹ to be led away, declaring this to be the unanimous decision of their body. Nevertheless, they did not persist in their resentment, but released the man at the intercession of the oldest senators; for they were not only concerned about the odium that would attend such a procedure, if they should be the first to punish a man by death for obeying an order of the magistrates, but also feared that with this provocation the patricians might be driven to take desperate measures.

XXXII After this action the senate was assembled and the consuls indulged in many accusations against the tribunes. Then Icilius took the floor and attempted to justify the tribunes' resentment against the lictor, citing the sacred laws which did not permit either a magistrate or a private citizen to offer any opposition to a tribune; and as for his attempt to convene the senate, he showed them that he had done nothing out of the way, using for this purpose many arguments of every sort, which he had prepared beforehand. After answering these accusations, he proceeded to introduce his law concerning the hill. It was to this effect. All the parcels of land held by private citizens, if justly acquired, should remain

¹ Literally, "the guardian of the consuls' office," i.e. the lictor.

⁵ λόφου νόμον A : νόμου λόγον B.

⁶ τοῦ added by Kiessling

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κατέχειν ὅσα δὲ βιασάμενοί τινες ἢ κλοπῇ λαβόν-
 τες ὤκοδομήσαντο, κομισαμένους τὰς δαπάνας,
 ἃς ἂν οἱ διαιτηταὶ γνῶσι, τῷ δήμῳ παραδιδόναι· τὰ
 δὲ ἄλλα, ὅσα ἦν¹ δημόσια, χωρὶς ὧνῃς τὸν δη-
 3 μον παραλαβόντα διελέσθαι. ἐδίδασκέ τε ὅτι τοῦτο
 τὸ πολίτευμα εἰς πολλὰ μὲν καὶ ἄλλα συνοίσει τῇ
 πόλει, μάλιστα δὲ εἰς τὸ μὴ στασιάζειν ἔτι περὶ
 τῆς δημοσίας χώρας τοὺς πένητας ἦν οἱ πατρίκιοι
 κατεῖχον. ἀγαπήσειν γὰρ αὐτοὺς τῆς πόλεως λα-
 χόντας μέρος, ἐπειδὴ τῆς χώρας οὐκ ἔξεστι διὰ
 τοὺς ἐσφετερισμένους αὐτὴν πολλοὺς ὄντας καὶ
 4 δυνατοὺς. τοιούτων ῥηθέντων ὑπ' αὐτοῦ λόγων ὁ
 μὲν ἀντιλέγων Γάιος Κλαύδιος ἦν μόνος, οἱ δὲ
 συγκατανεύοντες² πολλοί, καὶ ἔδοξε διδόναι τῷ
 δήμῳ τὸν τόπον. μετὰ τοῦτο ἱεροφαντῶν τε παρ-
 όντων καὶ οἰωνοσκοπῶν καὶ ἱεροποιῶν δυεῖν καὶ
 ποιησαμένων τὰς νομίμους εὐχὰς τε καὶ ἄρὰς ἐν
 τῇ λοχίτιδι ἐκκλησίᾳ συναχθείσῃ ὑπὸ τῶν ὑπάτων
 ὁ νόμος ἐκυρώθη, ὅς ἐστιν ἐν στήλῃ χαλκῇ γεγραμ-
 μένος, ἦν ἀνέθεσαν ἐν τῷ Ἀϋεντίνῳ κομίσαντες εἰς
 5 τὸ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος ἱερόν κυρωθέντος δὲ τοῦ νό-
 μου συνελθόντες οἱ δημοτικοὶ τὰ τε οἰκόπεδα δι-
 ελάγχχανον καὶ κατωκοδόμουν ὅσον ἕκαστοι τόπον
 δυνηθεῖεν ἀπολαμβάνοντες. εἰσὶ δ' οἱ σύνδυο καὶ
 σύντρεῖς³ καὶ ἔτι πλείους συνιόντες οἰκίαν κατ-
 εσκευάζοντο μίαν, ἐτέρων μὲν τὰ κατάγεια λαγχα-
 νόντων, ἐτέρων δὲ τὰ ὑπερῶα. ὁ μὲν οὖν ἐνιαυτὸς
 ἐκείνος εἰς τὰς κατασκευὰς τῶν οἰκήσεων ἔδαπα-
 νήθη.

¹ ὅσα ἦν B : ὅσα ἂν ἢ R

² συγκατανεύοντες L. Dindorf, συναγορεύοντες Reiske, συγ-
 κατανωόντες Jacoby . συγκαταλέγοντες O

in the possession of the owners, but such parcels as had been taken by force or fraud by any persons and built upon should be turned over to the populace and the present occupants reimbursed for their expenditures according to the appraisal of the arbitrators ; all the remainder, belonging to the public, the populace should receive free of cost and divide up among themselves. He also pointed out that this measure would be advantageous to the commonwealth, not only in many other ways, but particularly in this, that it would put an end to the disturbances raised by the poor concerning the public land that was held by the patricians. For he said they would be contented with receiving a portion of the city, inasmuch as they could have no part of the land lying in the country because of the number and power of those who had appropriated it. After he had spoken thus, Gaius Claudius was the only person who opposed the law, while many gave their assent, and it was voted to give the district to the populace. Later, at a centuriate assembly called by the consuls, the pontiffs being present together with the augurs and two sacrificers and offering the customary vows and imprecations, the law was ratified. It is inscribed on a column of bronze, which they set up on the Aventine after taking it into the sanctuary of Diana. When the law had been ratified, the plebeians assembled, and after drawing lots for the plots of ground, began to build, each man taking as large an area as he could ; and sometimes two, three, or even more joined together to build one house, and drawing lots, some had the lower and others the upper stories. That year, then, was employed in building houses

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XXXIII. Ὁ δὲ μετὰ τοῦτον, ἐν ᾧ τὴν ὑπατον ἀρχὴν παρειλήφεσαν Τίτος Ῥωμίλιος καὶ Γάιος Οὐτετούριος, δῆμαρχοι δ' ἦσαν οἱ περὶ Λεύκιον Ἰκίλλιον τὸ δεύτερον ἄρχειν ἐξῆς αἰρεθέντες, οὐχ ἀπλοῦς, ἀλλὰ ποικίλος τις ἐγένετο καὶ μεγάλων μεστός πραγμάτων. ἥ τε γὰρ πολιτικὴ στάσις, ἥδη μεμαράνθαι δοκοῦσα, ὑπὸ τῶν δημάρχων πάλιν ἀνεκινεῖτο, καὶ πόλεμοί τινες ἐκ τῶν ἀλλοεθνῶν ἀνέστησαν, οἳ κακὸν μὲν οὐθὲν διαθεῖναι τὴν πόλιν ἡδυνήθησαν, οὐ μικρὰν δὲ ὠφέλειαν, τὸ στασιάζον 2 ἀνελόντες ἐξ αὐτῆς. ἐγκύκλιον γὰρ δὴ τοῦτο καὶ ἐν ἔθει ἦν ἥδη τῇ πόλει πολεμουμένη μὲν ὁμονοεῖν, εἰρήνην δὲ ἀγοῦσθαι στασιάζειν τοῦτο συνιδόντες ἅπαντες οἱ τὰς ὑπάτους ἀρχὰς παραλαβόντες κατ' εὐχὰς μὲν εἴ τις ἔξωθεν ἀνασταίῃ¹ πόλεμος ἐλάμβανον· ἡσυχάζοντων δὲ τῶν ἀντιπάλων αὐτοὶ κατεσκεύαζον ἐγκλήματα καὶ προφάσεις πολέμων, ἅτε ὀρώντες διὰ μὲν τοὺς πολέμους μεγάλην καὶ εὐδαίμονα γινομένην τὴν πόλιν, διὰ δὲ τὰς στάσεις 3 ταπεινὴν καὶ ἀσθενῆ οἷς ὅμοια γνόντες οἱ τότε ὑπατοὶ στρατιὰν ἐξάγειν ἔκριναν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους, δεδοικότες μή τι διὰ τὴν εἰρήνην ἄρξωνται ταράττειν ἀργοὶ καὶ πένητες ἄνθρωποι, τοῦτο μὲν ὀρθῶς ἰδόντες,² ὅτι δεῖ περισπᾶσαι τὸν ὄχλον ἐπὶ τοὺς ἔξω πολέμους, τὸ δὲ μετὰ τοῦτο οὐκ ὀρθῶς. δέον γὰρ αὐτοὺς ὡς ἐν νοσοῦσῃ πόλει μετρίαις χρῆσθαι ταῖς στρατολογίαις, ἐπὶ τὸ βίᾳ προσαναγκάζειν τοὺς ἀπειθοῦντας ἐτράποντο, οὔτε παρ-αίτησιν οὔτε συγγνώμην οὐδενὶ διδόντες οὐδεμίαν, ἀλλὰ ταῖς ἐκ τῶν νόμων τιμωρίαις εἷς τε τὰ σώμα-

¹ Cobet . ἐπανασταίῃ O, Jacoby.

² ἰδόντες Ba : εἰδότες R

BOOK X 33, 1-3

XXXIII The following year,¹ when Titus Romilius and Gaius Veturius had succeeded to the consulship and Lucius Icilius and his colleagues were tribunes, chosen to hold the office for the second time in succession, was not all of one tenor, but varied and fraught with great events. For the civil strife, which seemed to have died down at last, was again stirred up by the tribunes, and some foreign wars arose which, without being able to do the commonwealth any harm, did her a great service by banishing the dissension. For it had by now become the regular and customary thing for the commonwealth to be harmonious in time of war and to be at odds in time of peace. All who assumed the consulship, being well aware of this, regarded it as an answer to prayer if a foreign war arose; and when their enemies were quiet, they themselves contrived grievances and excuses for wars, since they perceived that through its wars the commonwealth became great and flourishing, but through seditions humiliated and weak. The consuls of that year, having come to this same conclusion, decided to make an expedition against the enemy, fearing that idle and poor men might because of the prevailing peace begin to raise disturbances; but though they were right in perceiving that the multitude ought to be kept employed in foreign wars, they erred in what they subsequently did. For, whereas they ought, in view of the sickly condition of the commonwealth, to have made the levies with moderation, they resorted instead to violence and compulsion in dealing with the disobedient, granting neither excuse nor pardon to anyone, but harshly imposing the penalties ordained by the laws upon both their

¹ For chaps. 33-47 *cf.* Livy III 31, 2-4.

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4 τα καὶ τὰς οὐσίας αὐτῶν πικρῶς χρώμενοι ταῦτα
 ποιούντων αὐτῶν ἀφορμὴν αὐθις εἰλήφεσαν οἱ
 δήμαρχοι τοῦ δημαγωγεῖν τὰ πλήθη· καὶ συν-
 αγαγόντες ἐκκλησίαν¹ τὰ τ' ἄλλα τῶν ὑπάτων κατ-
 εβόων, καὶ ὅτι πολλοὺς τῶν πολιτῶν ἐκέλευσαν εἰς
 τὸ δεσμωτήριον ἀπάγειν τὴν δημαρχικὴν ἐξουσίαν
 ἐπικαλεσαμένους, τῆς τε στρατολογίας ἀπολύειν
 ἔφασαν αὐτοὶ δὴ μόνοι, ἐξουσίαν ἐκ τῶν νόμων
 5 ἔχοντες.² ὥς δ' οὐθὲν ἐπέραινον, ἀλλ' ἐπιστρεφε-
 στέρας ἔτι τὰς καταγραφὰς ἐώρων γινομένας,
 ἔργοις κωλύειν ἐπεβάλλοντο. ἀμυνομένων δὲ τῶν
 ὑπάτων καὶ τῷ κράτει τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐρεθισμοὶ τέ-
 τινες ἐγίνοντο καὶ χειρῶν ἐπιβολαί. συνηγωνίζετο
 δὲ τοῖς μὲν ὑπάτοις ἢ τῶν πατρικίων νεότης, τοῖς
 6 δὲ δημάρχοις ὁ πένης καὶ ἀργὸς ὄχλος ἐκείνην
 μὲν οὖν τὴν ἡμέραν παρὰ πολὺ κρείττους ἐγένοντο
 τῶν δημάρχων οἱ ὑπατοί, ταῖς δ' ἐξῆς ἡμέραις
 πλείονος ὄχλου συρρέοντος εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἐκ τῶν
 ἀγρῶν, δόξαντες οἱ δήμαρχοι προσειληφέναι χεῖρα
 ἀξιόμαχον ἐκκλησίας τε συνεχεῖς ἐποιοῦντο καὶ
 τοὺς ὑπηρέτας κακῶς διακειμένους ἐκ τῶν πληγῶν
 ἐπεδείκνυσαν καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔλεγον ἀποθήσεσθαι εἰ
 μὴ τις αὐτοῖς ἔσται παρὰ τοῦ δήμου βοήθεια

XXXIV. Συναγανακτοῦντος δ' αὐτοῖς τοῦ πλή-
 θους ἐκάλουν τοὺς ὑπάτους ἐπὶ³ τὸν δῆμον ὥς τῶν
 πεπραγμένων ὑφέξοντας λόγον. ὥς δ' οὐ προσεῖχον
 αὐτοῖς ἐκεῖνοι τὸν νοῦν, ἐπὶ τὴν βουλὴν παρήσαν
 (ἔτυχον γὰρ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν τούτων συνεδρεύοντες)
 καὶ παρελθόντες ἐδέοντο μὴθ' αὐτοὺς τὰ ἔσχατα⁴

¹ ἐκκλησίαν R · εἰς ἐκκλησίαν B, Jacoby.

² ἔφασαν αὐτοὶ δὴ μόνοι ἐξουσίαν ἐκ τῶν νόμων ἔχοντες B :
 ἔφασαν οἱ ἐκ τῶν νόμων ἐξουσίαν ἔχοντες A.

persons and their property. While they were doing this, the tribunes took occasion to stir up the masses again with their harangues, and calling an assembly. they denounced the consuls on various scores, but particularly for having ordered many citizens to be haled to prison even though they had invoked the protection of the tribunes; and they said that they themselves on their own responsibility released the people from the levy, having as they did authority to do so under the laws. When this had no effect and they saw the levies being carried out with still greater strictness, they undertook to obstruct them by deeds; and when the consuls resisted with the power of their magistracy also, there were sundry provocations and acts of violence. The consuls were supported by the young patricians, and the tribunes by the poor and idle multitude. That day the consuls proved much superior to the tribunes, but in the course of the following days, as increasing numbers flocked into the city from the country, the tribunes thought they had now acquired an adequate force, and holding one assembly after another, they exhibited their assistants, who were in a bad condition from the blows they had received, and said they would resign their magistracy if they did not get some assistance from the populace.

XXXIV. The multitude sharing in their resentment, the tribunes summoned the consuls to appear before their assembly in order to render an account of their actions. But as these paid no heed to them, they went to the senate, which happened to be deliberating about this very matter, and coming forward, asked the members not to permit either

³ ἐπὶ B : εἰς R

⁴ Cobet · ἀσχυρα O, Jacoby

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πεπονθότας ὑπεριδεῖν μήτε τὸν δῆμον ἀφαιρεθέντα
 τὴν ἐξ αὐτῶν¹ βοήθειαν, διεξιόντες ὅσα ἦσαν πε-
 πονθότες ὑπὸ τῶν ὑπάτων καὶ τῆς² περὶ αὐτοὺς
 συνωμοσίας, οὐ μόνον εἰς τὴν ἐξουσίαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ
 2 εἰς τὰ σώματα προπηλακισθέντες. ἡξίουں τε δυεῖν
 θάτερον ποιεῖν τοὺς ὑπάτους· εἰ μὲν ἀρνοῦνται μη-
 δὲν ὦν οἱ νόμοι κεκωλύκασιν εἰς τὰ τῶν δημάρχων
 πλημμελῆσαι σώματα, παραγενομένους εἰς τὴν ἐκ-
 κλησίαν ἀπομόσαι, εἰ δ' οὐχ ὑπομένουσι τὸν ὄρκον,
 ἡκειν ἐπὶ τοὺς δημότας λόγον ὑφέξοντας· ἀναδώσειν
 3 γὰρ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ταῖς φυλαῖς τὴν ψῆφον. οἱ δ' ὑπα-
 τοι πρὸς ταῦτ' ἀπελογοῦντο, διδάσκοντες ὅτι τῆς³
 ὕβρεως οἱ δῆμαρχοι ἄρξειαν αὐθαδεῖα χρησάμενοι
 καὶ τολμήσαντες εἰς ὑπάτων σώματα παρανομεῖν,
 τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ὑπηρέταις τε καὶ ἀγορανόμοις
 ἐπιτάττοντες ἄγειν εἰς τὸ δεσμωτήριον ἄρχοντας
 οἷς τὸ πάντων ἀποδέδοται κράτος, ἔπειτ' αὐτοὶ
 τολμήσαντες ὁμόσε χωρεῖν σὺν τοῖς ἱταμωτάτοις
 4 τῶν δημοτικῶν τάς τε ἀρχὰς διδάσκοντες ὅσον
 ἀλλήλων διαφέρουσιν, ἡ μὲν ὑπατική τὸ τῶν βασι-
 λέων ἔχουσα κράτος, ἡ δὲ δημαρχικὴ τῆς βοηθείας
 ἔνεκα παρεληλυθυῖα τῶν κατισχυομένων, ἥ τοσού-
 του δεῖν ἐξεῖναι κατὰ τῶν ὑπάτων τινὸς ψῆφον
 ἀναδιδόναι τοῖς ὄχλοις, ὥστε μηδὲ κατὰ τῶν ἄλλων
 πατρικίων τοῦ φαυλοτάτου⁴ ταύτην ἀποδεδοσθαι
 τὴν ἐξουσίαν, ἂν μὴ ἡ⁵ βουλὴ ψηφίσῃται. ἡπείλουν
 τε, ὅταν ἐκείνοι ψῆφον ἀναδώσι τοῖς δημόταις,
 5 αὐτοὶ τὰ ὄπλα περιθήσειν τοῖς πατρικίοις. τοιού-

¹ αὐτῶν Ba : ἐαυτῶν Bb, αὐτοῦ A.

² ἀπὸ τῆς A.

³ τῆς R : τῆς τε B, τῆς γε Kiessling

⁴ τοῦ φαυλοτάτου B . τῷ φαυλοτέρῳ A, τῶν φαυλοτέρων R.

⁵ ἡ Bb : om. ABa.

the tribunes themselves to be treated in a most outrageous manner or the populace to be deprived of their assistance. They enumerated all the injuries they had received at the hands of the consuls and their faction, who had insulted not only their authority but also their persons ; and they asked that the consuls do one of two things—either, in case they denied that they had done any wrong against the persons of the tribunes contrary to the laws, that they go before the popular assembly and make their denial under oath, or, if they could not bring themselves to take that oath, that they appear before the plebeians to render an account of their conduct ; and they (the tribunes) would take the vote of the tribes concerning them. The consuls defended themselves against these charges by saying that the tribunes had begun the violence by their arrogant behaviour and by daring to commit lawless acts against the persons of the consuls, first by ordering their attendants and the aediles to hale to prison magistrates in whom the whole power of the commonwealth is vested, and later by entering the struggle themselves together with the boldest of the plebeians. They pointed out how great a difference there is between the two magistracies—between the consulship, in which the royal power resides, and the tribuneship, which was introduced for the relief of the oppressed and, far from having the right to take the vote of the masses against one of the consuls, has not been given authority to do so against even the meanest of the other patricians, unless the senate shall so vote. And they threatened that they themselves would arm the patricians when the tribunes should take the votes of the plebeians. After such recrimina-

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των δὴ ῥηθέντων λόγων δι' ὅλης ἡμέρας οὐδὲν ἐξήνεγκεν ἢ βουλή τέλος, ἵνα μήτε τὴν τῶν ὑπάτων ἀρχὴν μειώσειε μήτε τὴν τῶν δημάρχων, ἐκάτερον ὀρώσα μεγάλων κινδύνων αἴτιον ἐσόμενον.

XXXV. Ἐπεὶ δὲ κακείθεν ἀπηλάθησαν οἱ δήμαρχοι βοήθειαν οὐδεμίαν εὐρόμενοι, ἐσκόπουν αὐθις ὃ τι χρὴ ποιεῖν εἰς τὸν δῆμον ἀφικόμενοι. ἐνίοις μὲν οὖν ἐδόκει καὶ μάλιστα τοῖς παραχωδεσ-τάτοις ἀπιέναι πάλιν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως τοὺς δημοτικοὺς τὰ ὄπλα ἀναλαμβάνοντας εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν ὄρος, ἔνθα καὶ τὸ πρῶτον ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο, καὶ τὸν πόλεμον ἐκείθεν ὀρμωμένους ποιεῖν πρὸς τοὺς πατρικίους, ἐπειδὴ τὰς συνθήκας ἔλυσαν ἐκεῖνοι τὰς γενομένας αὐτοῖς πρὸς τὸν δῆμον, καταλύοντες τὴν ²δημαρχικὴν ἐξουσίαν ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ τοῖς δὲ πλείοσιν ἐδόκει μὴ παραχωρεῖν τῆς πόλεως μηδὲ κοινὰ πάντων¹ ἐγκλήματα ποιεῖν ὑπὲρ ὧν ἰδίᾳ τινὲς εἰς τοὺς δημάρχους παρενόμησαν, ἐὰν² τὰ συγκεχωρημένα τοῖς νόμοις³ λαμβάνωσιν,⁴ οἳ κελεύουσι νηποινὶ τεθνάναι⁵ τοὺς ὑβρίσαντας τὰ⁶ τῶν δημάρχων σώματα. τοῖς δὲ χαριεστέροις οὐδέτερον τούτων ἐφαίνετο καλῶς ἔχειν, οὔτε τὴν πόλιν ἐκλιπεῖν οὔτε φόνον ἄκριτον ἐπιτελεῖν, καὶ ταῦτα ὑπάτων, οἷς ἡ μεγίστη ὑπέκειτο ἀρχή, ἀλλ' εἰς τοὺς συναγωνιζομένους αὐτοῖς μεταφέρειν τὴν ὀργὴν καὶ τὰς ἐκ τῶν νόμων τιμωρίας παρ' ἐκείνων λαμβάνειν. ³εἰ μὲν οὖν ἐκείνην τὴν ἡμέραν θυμῷ φερόμενοι δρᾶσαί τι οἱ δήμαρχοι κατὰ τῶν ὑπάτων ἢ τῆς

¹ μηδὲ κοινὰ πάντων Reiske : μηδὲ τὰ κοινὰ πάντων A, μηδὲ κοινὰ πάντα τὰ B ² ἐὰν Bb · ἀλλὰ R.

³ τοῖς νόμοις Bb · om ABa.

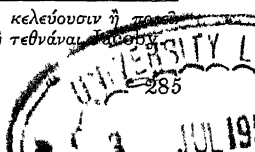
⁴ λαμβάνωσιν B : λαμβάνουσιν R.

tions had lasted the whole day, the senate came to no decision, being unwilling to lessen the power of either the consuls or the tribunes, since they saw that either course would be attended with great dangers.

XXXV. When the tribunes were repulsed there also, failing to get any help, they went again to the popular assembly and considered what they ought to do. Some, particularly the most turbulent, thought the plebeians should take arms and again withdraw from the city to the Sacred Mount, where they had encamped on the first occasion,¹ and from there make war upon the patricians, since these had violated the compact they had made with the populace by openly overthrowing the tribunician power.² But the majority thought they ought not to leave the city nor to bring charges against all the patricians as a body for the lawless acts committed by some particular persons against the tribunes, provided they could obtain the relief offered by the laws, which ordain that those who have insulted the persons of the tribunes may be put to death with impunity.³ The more intelligent did not regard either course as fitting, either to leave the city or to put persons to death without a trial, and particularly consuls, who held the chief magistracy, but they advised them to transfer their resentment to those who were assisting the consuls and to exact from these the punishment ordained by the laws. Now if the tribunes had been carried away by their passion that day to do anything

¹ vi 45, 2.² vi. 87, 3; 88, 3³ vi 89, 3.

⁵ *κελεύουσι νηπιὸν τεθνάναι* Casaubon *κελεύουσιν ἢ ποιεῖν*
ἢ τεθνάναι O, *κελεύουσιν ἢ ποιῶν τίνε* εν *ἢ τεθνάναι* *ἀποβῆναι*

⁶ *τὰ O* · *εἰς τὰ* Cobet.

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βουλῆς προήχθησαν, οὐθὲν ἂν ἦν τὸ κωλυῖσον αὐτὴν
 ὑφ' αὐτῆς ἀπολωλέναι τὴν πόλιν· οὕτως ἑτοιμοὶ
 πάντες ἦσαν ἐπὶ τὰ ὄπλα καὶ τὸν κατ' ἀλλήλων
 πόλεμον. νῦν δ' ἀναβαλόμενοι τὰ πράγματα καὶ
 δόντες ἑαυτοῖς χρόνον εἰς ἀμείνω λογισμὸν αὐτοί
 τε μετριώτεροι ἐγένοντο καὶ τὰς τῶν πολλῶν ὀρ-
 4 γὰς ἐπράυναν. ἔπειτα ταῖς ἐξῆς ἡμέραις τὴν τρίτην
 ἀπ' ἐκείνης ἐσομένην ἀγορὰν προειπόντες ἐν ἧ
 τὸν δῆμον συνάξουσι καὶ ζημίαν ἐπιβαλοῦσι τοῖς
 ὑπάτοις ἀργυρικὴν, διέλυσαν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν. ἐπεὶ
 δὲ πλησίον ἦν ὁ χρόνος, ἀπέστησαν καὶ ταύτης τῆς
 ἐπιβολῆς τῇ δεήσει τῶν πρεσβυτάτων τε¹ καὶ ἐντι-
 5 μοτάτων τὴν χάριν ἀνατιθέναι λέγοντες. καὶ μετὰ
 ταῦτα συναγαγόντες τὸν δῆμον ἔλεγον ὅτι τὰς μὲν
 εἰς ἑαυτοὺς ὕβρεις ἀφείκασι χαρισάμενοι πολλοῖς
 καὶ ἀγαθοῖς ἀνδράσι δεομένοις, οἷς οὐκ ἦν ὅσιον
 ἀντιλέγειν, ὧν δὲ ὁ δῆμος ἡδικεῖτο κωλυταί τε καὶ
 τιμωροὶ ἔσεσθαι προθήσειν γὰρ αὐθις τὸν τε περὶ
 τῆς κληρουχίας νόμον ἔτη τριάκοντα παρελκυ-
 μένον καὶ τὸν περὶ τῆς ἰσονομίας, ὃν οἱ πρὸ αὐτῶν
 δήμαρχοι προθέντες οὐκ ἐπεψήφισαν

XXXVI. Ταῦθ' ὑποσχόμενοι καὶ ὁμόσαντες ἀπ-
 ἔδειξαν ἡμέρας ἐν αἷς ἀγορὰν ποιήσονται τοῦ δήμου
 καὶ τὰς ψήφους ἀναδώσουσι περὶ τῶν νόμων ἐπι-
 στάντος δὲ τοῦ χρόνου πρῶτον εἰσέφερον τὸν
 χωρονομικὸν νόμον καὶ πολλοὺς διελθόντες λόγους
 ἐκάλουν, εἴ τις τῷ νόμῳ συναγορεύειν βούλεται τῶν
 2 δημοτικῶν. πολλῶν δὲ παριόντων καὶ τὰς ἑαυ-

¹ τε B : om. R.

¹ Or, perhaps, "second" by our reckoning. See vii. 58, 3 and the note on that passage. Normally in such a construction as this Dionysius reckons inclusively

against the consuls or the senate, nothing would have prevented the commonwealth from being destroyed by its own hands, so ready were all to rush to arms and engage in civil war. But as it was, by deferring matters and giving themselves time for better reasoning, they not only themselves grew more moderate, but also appeased the resentment of the multitude. Then, during the following days, they announced the third¹ market-day from that one as the day when they would assemble the populace and impose a monetary fine upon the consuls ; after which they dismissed the assembly. But when the time drew near, they refrained from imposing even this fine, alleging that they granted the favour at the intercession of men who were the oldest and most honoured. After that they assembled the populace and told them that they had pardoned the insults to themselves, doing this at the request of many worthy men whom it was not right to refuse, but that as for the wrongs done to the populace, they would both avenge them and prevent their recurrence. For they would again propose not only the law concerning the allotment of land, the enactment of which had been postponed for thirty years, but also the one concerning an equality of laws, which their predecessors had proposed but had not put to vote.

XXXVI. Having made these promises and confirmed them by oaths, they appointed days on which they would hold an assembly of the populace and take their votes concerning the laws. When the time came, they first proposed the agrarian law, and after discussing it at great length, called upon any of the plebeians who so desired to speak in favour of the law. Many came forward, and enumerating the

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τῶν πράξεις, ὥς ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις ἀπεδείξαντο, προφερομένων καὶ ἀγανακτούντων ὅτι πολλὴν ἀφελόμενοι γῆν τοὺς πολεμίους αὐτοὶ μὲν οὐδεμίαν εἰλήφασιν μοῖραν, τοὺς δὲ χρήμασι καὶ φίλοις δυνατοὺς ἐσφετερισμένους ὁρῶσι τὰ κοινὰ καὶ καρπούμενους ἐκ τοῦ βιαιοτάτου, ἀξιούντων τε μὴ μόνον τοὺς κινδύνους εἶναι τῷ δήμῳ τοὺς ὑπὲρ τῶν κοινῶν ἀγαθῶν κοινούς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἡδονὰς τε καὶ ὠφελείας, καὶ τοῦ πλήθους ἀσμένως ἀκούοντος τοὺς λόγους, ὃ μάλιστα ἐπιρρώσας τὸν δῆμον καὶ μηδὲ φωνὴν ὑπομένειν τῶν ἀντιλεγόντων διαπραξάμενος ἦν Λεύκιος Σίκκιος, Δεντάτος ἐπικαλούμενος, πολλὰς πάνυ καὶ μεγάλας ἑαυτοῦ πράξεις διεξελθών. ἦν δ' ὀφθῆναι τε θαυμαστὸς ὁ ἀνὴρ καὶ ἡλικίας ἐν τῷ κρατίστῳ δυεῖν δέοντα ἐξήκοντα γεγοιῶς ἔτη καὶ φρονῆσαι τὰ δέοντα ἱκανὸς εἰπεῖν τε ὥς στρατιώτης οὐκ ἀδύνατος. ἔφη δ' οὖν παρελθών

“ Ἐγὼ δ',¹ ὦ δημότα, καθ' ἕκαστον ἔργον τῶν ἐμοὶ πεπραγμένων εἰ βουλοίμην λέγειν, ἐπιλίποι ἂν με ὁ τῆς ἡμέρας χρόνος. αὐτὰ δὲ τὰ κεφάλαια δι'⁴ ἐλαχίστων ὥς ἐμὴ δύναμις ἐρῶ τετταρακοστὸν μὲν² ἔτος ἐστὶ μοι τοῦτο ἐξ οὗ στρατεύομαι περὶ τῆς πατρίδος, τριακοστὸν δ' ἐξ οὗ στρατιωτικῆς αἰέτινος ἡγεμονίας τυγχάνω, τοτὲ μὲν σπείρας ἡγούμενος, τοτὲ δ' ὅλου τάγματος, ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ ὑπάτων³ Γαῖου Ἀκυλλίου καὶ Τίτου Σικκίου, οἷς

¹ ἐγὼ δὲ ABmg : ἐγώ Steph., Jacoby, ἔγωγε Post.

² μὲν B : om R.

³ ἀπὸ τῶν ὑπάτων Jacoby.

exploits they had performed in the wars, expressed their indignation that they who had taken so much land from their enemies had received no part of it themselves, while they saw that those who were powerful by reason of their riches and their friends had appropriated and now enjoyed, by the most violent means, the possessions that belonged to all, and they demanded that the populace should share, not only in the dangers that were undertaken for the common good, but also in the pleasures and profits that resulted from those dangers. And the multitude listened to them with pleasure. But the one who encouraged them the most and caused them to refuse to tolerate even a word from the opponents of the law was Lucius Siccus, surnamed Dentatus, who related very many great exploits of his own. He was a man of remarkable appearance, was in the very prime of life, being fifty-eight years old, capable of conceiving practical measures and also, for a soldier, eloquent in expressing them. This man, then, came forward and said

“ If I, plebeians, should choose to relate my exploits one by one, a day’s time would not suffice me ; hence I shall give a mere summary, in the fewest words I can. This is the fortieth year that I have been making campaigns for my country, and the thirtieth that I have continued to hold some military command, sometimes over a cohort and sometimes over a whole legion, beginning with the consulship of Gaius Aquilius and Titus Siccus,¹ to whom the senate committed

¹ Strictly speaking, it was the second of these consuls only who conducted the war against the Volscians (see viii. 64, 3, 67), and according to Dionysius’ own chronology the date of the present speech (453 B C) was a little more than the thirtieth year after their consulship (485)

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ἔψηφίσατο ἡ βουλὴ τὸν κατὰ Οὐλολούσκων πόλεμον.
 ἡμῖν γὰρ τότε ἑπτακαικεκοσέτης,¹ ἑταττόμην δ'
 5 ἔτι ὑπὸ λοχαγῷ. γενομένης δὲ μάχης καρτερὰς
 καὶ τροπῆς, καὶ τοῦ μὲν ἡγεμόνος τῆς σπείρας πε-
 πτωκότος, τῶν δὲ σημείων κρατουμένων ὑπὸ τῶν
 ἐχθρῶν, μόνος ἐγὼ τὸν ὑπὲρ πάντων κίνδυνον
 ἀράμενος τά τε σημεῖα διέσωσα τῇ σπείρᾳ² καὶ
 τοὺς πολεμίους ἀνέστειλα καὶ τοῦ μὴ περιπεσεῖν
 αἰσχύνη³ τοὺς λοχαγοὺς αἰωνίῳ, δι' ἣν θανάτου
 κακίων ὁ λοιπὸς ἂν αὐτοῖς βίος ἦν, αἴτιος ἐγενόμην
 φανερώς, ὥς αὐτοὶ τε⁴ ὠμολόγουν χρυσῷ με ἀνα-
 δήσαντες στεφάνῳ καὶ ὁ ὑπατος Σίκκιος ἐμαρτύ-
 6 ρησεν ἡγεμόνα τῆς σπείρας ἀποδείξας. ἑτέρου τε
 πάλιν ἡμῖν ἀγῶνος ἐνστάτος, ἐν ᾧ τὸν τε στρατο-
 πεδάρχην τοῦ τάγματος ἡμῶν συνέβη πεσεῖν καὶ
 τὸν αἰτὸν ὑπὸ⁵ τοῖς πολεμίοις γενέσθαι, τὸν αὐτὸν
 τρόπον ὑπὲρ ὅλου τοῦ τάγματος⁶ ἀγωνισάμενος τὸν
 τ' αἰτὸν ἀνεκομισάμην⁷ καὶ τὸν στρατοπεδάρχην
 ἔσωσα· ὃς ἐμοὶ τῆς τότε βοηθείας χάριν ἀπο-
 διδοὺς τῆς ἡγεμονίας τοῦ τάγματος ἀφίστατό μοι
 καὶ τὸν αἰτὸν ἐδίδου, ἐγὼ δ' οὐκ ἔλαβον, οὐκ ἀξιῶν
 ᾧ τὸν βίον ἐχαρισάμην τούτου παρελέσθαι τὰς τιμὰς
 αἷς εἶχε καὶ τὰς ἐπὶ ταύταις εὐφροσύνας. ἐφ' οἷς
 ἀγασθεῖς με ὁ ὑπατος τοῦ πρώτου τάγματος ἀπ-
 ἔδωκε τὴν στρατοπεδαρχίαν ἀπολωλεκότος ἐν τῇ
 μάχῃ τὸν ἡγεμόνα.

XXXVII. "Ταῦτ' ἐστίν, ᾧ δημόται, τὰ φανερώ-

¹ Kiessling . ἑπτακαικεκοσαέτης O.

² τῇ σπείρᾳ B : τῆς σπείρας R

³ ἐν before αἰσχύνη deleted by Reiske.

⁴ τε Kiessling . γε B, om. R.

⁵ ἐπὶ Cobet.

⁶ Reiske : συντάγματος O.

⁷ ἀνεκομισάμην B : ἀνεσωσάμην R.

the conduct of the war against the Volscians I was then twenty-seven years of age and in rank I was still under a centurion.¹ When a severe battle occurred and a rout, the commander of the cohort had fallen, and the standards were in the hands of the enemy, I alone, exposing myself in behalf of all, recovered the standards for the cohort, repulsed the enemy, and was clearly the one who saved the centurions from incurring everlasting disgrace—which would have rendered the rest of their lives more bitter than death—as both they themselves acknowledged, by crowning me with a golden crown, and Siccus the consul bore witness, by appointing me commander of the cohort. And in another battle that we had, in which it happened that the *primipilus* ² of the legion was thrown to the ground and the eagle fell into the enemy's hands, I fought in the same manner in defence of the whole legion, recovered the eagle and saved the *primipilus*. In return for the assistance I then gave him he wished to resign his command of the legion in my favour and to give me the eagle; but I refused both, being unwilling to deprive the man whose life I had saved of the honours he enjoyed and of the satisfaction resulting from them. The consul was pleased with my behaviour and gave me the post of *primipilus* in the first legion, which had lost its commander in the battle.

XXXVII. "These, plebeians, are the noble actions

¹ i.e. he was still a common soldier.

² The ranking centurion of a legion, who carried the eagle and, in the absence of the tribune, took command. See ix. 10, 2.

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σαντά με καὶ εἰς ἡγεμονίας προαγαγόντα γενναῖα ἔργα. ἐπεὶ δ' ὀνόματος ἤδη λαμπροῦ τυγχάνων φανερός ἤμην, ἅπαντας ὑπέμενον τοὺς λοιποὺς ἀγῶνας αἰδούμενος τὰς ἐπὶ τοῖς προτέροις ἔργοις τιμὰς καὶ χάριτας ἀφανίσαι. καὶ διετέλεσα πάντα τὸν μεταξὺ χρόνον στρατευόμενος καὶ ταλαιπωρῶν καὶ οὐδένα κίνδυνον δεδιὼς οὐδὲ ὑπολογιζόμενος· ἐξ ὧν ἀπάντων ἀριστεία καὶ σκῦλα καὶ στεφάνους
 2 καὶ τὰς ἄλλας τιμὰς παρὰ τῶν ὑπάτων ἔλαβον· ἵνα δὲ συνελὼν εἴπω, μάχας μὲν ἐν τοῖς τετταράκοντα ἔτεσιν ἐν οἷς διατελῶ στρατευόμενος ἀμφὶ τὰς ἑκατὸν εἴκοσι μεμάχημαι, τραύματα δὲ πέντε καὶ τετταράκοντα εἵληφα καὶ πάντα ἐμπρόσθια, κατὰ νώτου δ' οὐθέν· καὶ τούτων δώδεκά ἐστιν ἃ συνέβη μοι λαβεῖν ἐν ἡμέρᾳ μιᾷ, ὅτε Σαβῖνος Ἑρδώνιος
 3 τὴν ἄκραν καὶ τὸ Καπιτώλιον κατελάβετο. ἀριστεία δ' ἐκ τῶν ἀγώνων ἐξενήνεγμαι τεσσαρεσκαίδεκα μὲν στεφάνους πολιτικούς, οἷς ἀνέδησάν με οἱ σωθέντες ἐν ταῖς μάχαις ὑπ' ἐμοῦ, τρεῖς δὲ πολι-
 ορκητικούς πρῶτος ἐπιβὰς πολεμίων τείχεσι καὶ κατασχών, ὀκτὼ δὲ τοὺς ἐκ παρατάξεως, οἷς ὑπὸ τῶν αὐτοκρατόρων ἐτιμήθη· πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ὀγ-
 δοήκοντα μὲν καὶ τρεῖς χρυσοῦς στρεπτοὺς περιαι-
 χενίους, ἐξήκοντα δὲ καὶ ἑκατὸν¹ περιβραχιόνια χρύσεια, δόρατα δ' ὀκτωκαίδεκα, φάλαρα δ' ἐπίσημα πέντε πρὸς τοῖς εἴκοσιν, . . .² ὧν ἐννέα ἦσαν οὓς
 4 ὑποστὰς ἐνίκησα. οὗτος μέντοι Σίκκιος, ὦ πολῖται,

¹ καὶ ἑκατὸν B · om. R.

² Lacuna recognized after εἴκοσιν by Enthoven, who supplied· λάφυρα δὲ πολεμίων ἡττηθέντων εἴκοσιν (cf chap. 45, 3).

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which brought me distinction and preferment After I had already gained an illustrious name and was famous, I submitted to the hardships of all the other engagements, being ashamed to blot out the memory of the honours and favours I had received for my former actions And all the time since then I have continued to take part in campaigns and undergo their hardships without fearing or even considering any danger. From all these campaigns I received prizes for valour, spoils, crowns, and the other honours from the consuls. In a word, during the forty years I have continued to serve I have fought about one hundred and twenty battles and received forty-five wounds, all in front and not one behind; twelve of these I happened to receive in one day, when Herdonius the Sabine seized the citadel and the Capitol. As to rewards for valour, I have brought out of those contests fourteen civic crowns, bestowed upon me by those I saved in battle, three mural crowns for having been the first to mount the enemy's walls and hold them, and eight others for my exploits on the battlefield, with which I was honoured by the generals; and, in addition to these, eighty-three gold collars, one hundred and sixty gold bracelets, eighteen spears, twenty-five splendid decorations, .¹ nine of whom I voluntarily encountered and overcame when they challenged someone of our men to fight in single combat. Nevertheless, citizens, this Siccus,

¹ The next clause shows that there is something amiss with the text here. When we compare the words in chap. 45, 3, where Romilius tauntingly reminds Siccus of all these boasted trophies, we naturally look for mention here of the spoils taken from enemy champions slain in single combat. Enthoven, accordingly, would supply at this point the words "and the spoils of twenty conquered enemies."

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ὁ τοσαῦτα μὲν ἔτη στρατευσάμενος ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν, τοσαύτας δὲ μάχας ἀγωνισάμενος, τοσούτοις δὲ τετιμημένος ἀριστείοις, ὁ μηδένα κίνδυνον ὀκνήσας πώποτε μηδ' ἀπειπάμενος, ἀλλ' . . .¹ ἐν παρατάξεσι καὶ ἐν τειχομαχίαις καὶ ἐν πεζοῖς καὶ ἐν ἵππευσι καὶ μετὰ πάντων καὶ σὺν ὀλίγοις καὶ μόνος, καὶ κατατετρωμένος ὅλον τὸ σῶμα, ὁ συγκατακτησάμενος τῇ πατρίδι πολλὴν καὶ ἀγαθὴν γῆν, τοῦτο μὲν ἦν Τυρρηγνούς τε καὶ Σαβίνους ἀφείλεσθε, τοῦτο δὲ ἦν Αἰκανῶν καὶ Οὐολούσκων καὶ Πωμεντίνων κρατήσαντες ἔχετε,² οὐδὲ τὴν ἐλαχίστην ἔχω μοῖραν ἐξ αὐτῆς λαβών, οὐδ' ὑμῶν, ὧς δημόται, τῶν τὰ ὅμοια ταλαιπωρησάντων οὐδεῖς· οἱ δὲ βιαιότατοι τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ ἀναιδέστατοι τὴν καλλίστην κατέχουσιν ἐξ αὐτῆς καὶ πολλὰ ἔτη κεκάρπωνται οὔτε δωρεὰν παρ' ὑμῶν λαβόντες οὔτε χρημάτων πριάμενοι οὔτε ἄλλην δικαίαν κτήσιν οὐδεμίαν αὐ-
5 τῆς ἀποδείξαι δυνάμενοι. καὶ εἰ μὲν ἴσα τοῖς ἄλλοις ἡμῖν ταλαιπωρήσαντες ὅτ' αὐτὴν ἐκτώμεθα πλεῖον ἡξίουں ἡμῶν ἔχειν, ἦν μὲν οὐδ' οὕτω δίκαιον οὐδὲ πολιτικὸν ὀλίγους σφετερίσασθαι τὰ κοινά, οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' εἶχε γέ τινα λόγον ἢ πλεονεξία τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὅποτε δ' οὐθὲν ἔχοντες ἐπιδείξασθαι μέγα καὶ νεανικὸν ἔργον ἀνθ' οὗ τὰ ἡμέτερα³ βία κατέσχον, ἀναισχυντοῦσι καὶ οὐδ' ἐξελεγχόμενοι μεθ-
ιένται αὐτῶν, τίς ἂν ἀνάσχοιτο;

¹ Lacuna recognized by Reiske. The MSS give ἀλλ' ἦν ἐν παρατάξεσι. Kiessling proposed ἀλλὰ πάντας ὑποστὰς καὶ ἐν π., Smit ἀλλὰ πάντας ἀράμενος καὶ ἐν π. Jacoby simply substituted ἄλλη for ἀλλ' ἦν. Post would read μάχην for ἀλλ' ἦν.

² ἔχετε R : ἔσχετε A.

³ Steph : ὑμέτερα AB.

who has served so many years in your defence, fought so many battles, been honoured with so many prizes for valour, who never shirked or declined any danger, but . . .¹ in pitched battles and assaults upon walled towns, among the foot and among the horse, with all, with a few, and alone, whose body is covered with wounds, and who has had a share in winning for his country much fertile land, both that which you have taken from the Tyrrhemans and the Sabines and that which you possess after conquering the Aequians, the Volscians and the Pometini—this Siccius, I say, has not received even the least portion of this land as his to possess, nor has any one of you plebeians who have shared in the same hardships. But the most violent and shameless men of the city hold the finest part of it and have had the enjoyment of it for many years, without having either received it from you as a gift or purchased it or being able to show any other just title to it. If, indeed, they had borne an equal share of the hardships with the rest of us when we were acquiring this land and had then demanded to have a larger share of it than we, while it would not, even so, have been either just or democratic that a few should appropriate what belongs to all in common, yet there would at least be some excuse for the greed of these men, but when, though they cannot point to any great or daring deed of theirs in payment for which they seized by force the possessions that belong to us, they act in this shameless manner and even when convicted do not give them up, who can bear it?

¹ The text is corrupt at this point. According to the conjectures of Kiessling and Smit we should have "but undertook them all, both in pitched battles," etc.

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XXXVIII. “ Ἐπεὶ φέρε πρὸς Διός, εἴ τι τούτων ἐγὼ ψεύδομαι, δειξάτω τις ὑμῖν τῶν σεμνῶν τούτων παρελθόν, τίνας ἐπιφανεῖς καὶ καλὰς πράξεις προεχόμενος ἐμοῦ πλέον ἔχειν ἀξιοῖ· πότερον ἔτη πλείω στρατευσάμενος ἢ μάχας πλείους ἀγωνισάμενος ἢ τραύματα πλείω λαβὼν ἢ στεφάνοις καὶ φαλάρους καὶ σκύλοις καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐπινικίοις κόσμοις ὑπερβαλόμενος, δι’ ὃν ἀσθενέστεροι μὲν οἱ πολέμιοι γεγόνασιν ἐπιφανεστέρα δὲ καὶ μείζων ἡ πατρίς, μᾶλλον δὲ τὸ δέκατον ἐπιδειξάτω μέρος ὧν ὑμῖν
 2 ὑπέδειξα ἐγώ. ἀλλὰ τούτων γ’ οἱ πλείους οὐδ’ ἂν πολλοστήν ἔχοιεν προενέγκασθαι μοῖραν τῶν ἐμῶν· ἔνιοι δὲ οὐδ’ ἂν τῷ φαυλοτάτῳ τῶν ἐκ τοῦ δήμου φανεῖν τὰ ἴσα κακοπαθήσαντες οὐ γάρ ἐστιν αὐτῶν ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις ἢ λαμπρότης, ἀλλ’ ἐν τοῖς λόγοις, οὐδὲ κατὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν τὸ δυνάμενον, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τῶν φίλων· οὐδ’ ἡγοῦνται κοινὴν οἰκεῖν πόλιν, σφῶν δ’ αὐτῶν ἰδίαν, ὥσπερ οὐ συνελευθερωθέντες ἀπὸ τῆς τυραννίδος ὑφ’ ἡμῶν, ἀλλὰ κατὰ κληρονομίαν παρὰ τῶν τυράννων παραλαβόντες ἡμᾶς· οἷ γε—τὰ μὲν ἄλλα, ὅσα ὑβρίζοντες ἡμᾶς μικρὰ καὶ μείζω διατελοῦσιν, ὥς ἅπαντες ἐπίστασθε, σιωπῶ
 3 —ἀλλ’ εἰς τοῦτο προεληλύθασιν¹ ὑπερηφανίας ὥστ’ οὐδὲ φωνὴν ἀξιοῦσιν τίνα ἡμῶν ἀφιέναι περὶ τῆς πατρίδος ἐλευθέραν οὐδὲ διαῖραι τὸ στόμα, ἀλλὰ τὸν μὲν πρῶτον² εἰπόντα περὶ τῆς κληρουχίας Σπόριον Κάσσιον, τρισὶ μὲν ὑπατείαις κεκοσμημένον, δυσὶ δὲ θριάμβοις λαμπροτάτοις, τοσαύτην δὲ δεινότητα περὶ τε τὰς στρατηγικὰς πράξεις καὶ περὶ τὰ πολιτικὰ βουλευμάτων ἀποδειξάμενον ὅσην

¹ προεληλύθασιν Bb : προσεληλύθασιν Ba, παρεληλύθασιν A

² πρῶτον Steph. . om. AB, Jacoby.

BOOK X. 38, 1-3

XXXVIII. "Come now, if aught of what I have said is false, in Heaven's name let one of these grand men come forward and show what illustrious and noble achievements he relies on to claim a larger share of the land than I. Has he served more years, fought more battles, received more wounds, or excelled me in the number of crowns, decorations, spoils, and the other ornaments of victory—in fact, shown himself a man by whom our enemies have been weakened and our country rendered more illustrious and powerful? Nay, let him show the tenth part of what I have cited to you. But of these men the majority could not produce even the smallest fraction of my exploits; and some would be found not to have undergone as many hardships as even the meanest plebeian. For their brilliancy does not lie in arms, but in words, nor is their power exerted against their enemies, but against their friends; and they do not regard the commonwealth in which they dwell as belonging to all alike, but as their own private property—as if they had not been aided by us in gaining their freedom from tyranny, but had received us as an inheritance from the tyrants. I say nothing of the other insults, small and great, which they continue to heap upon us, as you all know; but they have gone so far in their arrogance that they forbid any one of us even to utter a free word in behalf of our country or even to open our mouths. Nay, they accused Spurius Cassius, who first proposed the allotment of land, a man who had been honoured with three consulships and two most brilliant triumphs and had shown greater ability in both military undertakings and political counsels than anyone of that age

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οὐδεὶς τῶν τότε γενομένων, τοῦτον τὸν ἄνδρα αἰ-
 τιασάμενοι τυραννίδι ἐπιχειρεῖν καὶ ψευδέσι κατ-
 αγωνισάμενοι μαρτυρίαις δι' οὐδὲν ἕτερον, ἀλλ' ὅτι
 φιλόπολις ἦν καὶ φιλόδημος, ὥσαντες ἀπὸ¹ τοῦ
 4 κρημνοῦ διέφθειραν. Γναῖον δὲ Γενύκιον δῆμαρχον
 ὄντα ἡμέτερον, ἐπεὶ τὸ αὐτὸ τοῦτο πολίτευμα μετὰ
 ἔτος² ἑνδέκατον ἀνεκκοινοῦτο, καὶ τοὺς ὑπατεύσαντας
 ἐν τῷ πρότερον ἐνιαυτῷ κατέστησεν ὑπὸ δίκην
 ἀμελήσαντας τῶν ψηφισμάτων τῆς βουλῆς ἃ περὶ
 τῶν γεωμόρων ἐψηφίσατο, ἐπεὶ φανερώς οὐχ οἰοί-
 τ' ἦσαν ἀνελεῖν, μιᾷ πρότερον ἡμέρᾳ τῆς δίκης
 5 ἀφανῶς ἀνῆρπασαν. τοιγάρτοι πολλὸς ἐνέπεσε τοῖς
 μετὰ ταῦτα φόβος, καὶ οὐδεὶς ἔτι τὸ κινδύνευμα
 τοῦτο ὑπέδν, ἀλλὰ τριακοστὸν ἔτος τοῦτο ἀνεχό-
 μεθα ὥσπερ ἐν τυραννίδι τὴν ἐξουσίαν ἀπολωλε-
 κότες.

XXXIX. “Ἐὼ τὰλλα· ἀλλ' οἱ νῦν ἄρχοντες
 ὑμῶν, ὅτι τοῖς κατισχυομένοις τῶν δημοτικῶν ἡξί-
 ουν βοηθεῖν, οὓς ὑμεῖς ἱεροὺς καὶ ἀσύλους ἐποιή-
 σατε τῷ νόμῳ, τί οὐ πεπόνθασιν τῶν δεινῶν; οὐχὶ
 τυπτόμενοι καὶ λακτιζόμενοι καὶ πᾶσαν αἰκίαν
 ὑπομείναντες ἀπηλάθθησαν ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς, καὶ
 ὑμεῖς ταῦτα πάσχοντες ἀνέχεσθε καὶ οὐ ζητεῖτε
 ὅπως παρ' αὐτῶν λήψεσθε δίκας ταῖς γοῦν ψή-
 φοις, ἐν αἷς μόναις ἔξεστιν ὑμῖν ἀποδείξασθαι τὴν
 2 ἐλευθερίαν;³ ἀλλ' ἔτι καὶ νῦν, ὧ δημοταί, φρόνη-
 μα λαβόντες ἐλεύθερον καὶ⁴ τὸν γεωμορικὸν νόμον

¹ ἀπὸ O : κατὰ Naber.

² ἔτος O : τὸ ἔτος Jacoby

³ The (;) is due to Capps. Editors have all treated this as a declarative sentence.

⁴ καὶ deleted by Kiessling, Jacoby. Kiessling proposed as an alternative λάβετε ἐλεύθερον καὶ.

—this man, I say, they accused of aiming at tyranny and defeated him by means of false testimony, for no other reason than because he was a lover of his country and a lover of the people, and they destroyed him by shoving him over the cliff ¹ And again, when Gnaeus Genucius, one of our tribunes, revived this same measure after the lapse of eleven years ² and summoned the consuls of the preceding year to trial for having neglected to carry out the decree which the senate had passed respecting the appointment of the commissioners to divide the land, since they could not destroy him openly, they made away with him secretly the day before the trial In consequence, great fear came upon the succeeding tribunes, and not one of them would thereafter expose himself to this danger, but for now the thirtieth year we endure this treatment, as if we had lost our power under a tyranny

XXXIX. “ The other things I pass over , but your present magistrates, because they thought it their duty to help those of the plebeians who were oppressed, though by law you had made these magistrates sacred and inviolable, what dreadful treatment have they not suffered ? Were they not driven out of the Forum with blows, kicks and every form of outrage ? And you, do you endure to suffer such treatment and not seek means of taking revenge on the perpetrators, at least by your votes, in which alone you can show your freedom ? But even now, plebeians, pluck up the courage of free men and, now that the

¹ The Tarpeian Rock

² The interval was twelve years (483–471) according to Dionysius’ own account See viii, 77 and ix. 37 f.

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εἰσφερόντων τῶν δημάρχων ἐπικυρώσατε μηδὲ φω-
 3 νὴν ἀνασχόμενοι τῶν τάναντία ἀξιούντων. ὑμεῖς
 δ', ὦ δήμαρχοι, παρακλήσεως μὲν εἰς τοῦτο τὸ
 ἔργον οὐ δεῖσθε καὶ γὰρ ἤρξατε αὐτοῦ καὶ οὐχ
 ὑποκατακλίνεσθε, καλῶς ποιοῦντες ἐὰν δ' ἐκ τῶν
 νέων αὐθάδεια καὶ ἀναίδεια ὑμῖν ἐμποδὼν γένηται
 τοὺς καδίσκους ἀνατρεπόντων ἢ τὰς ψήφους ἀρ-
 παζόντων ἢ ἄλλο τι περὶ τὴν ψηφοφορίαν ἀκοσ-
 μούντων, δείξατε αὐτοῖς ἣν ἔχει τὸ ἀρχεῖον ἰσχύν
 4 καὶ ἐπειδὴ οὐ τοὺς ὑπάτους ἔξεστι παῦσαι τῆς ἐξ-
 ουσίας, τοὺς ἰδιώτας οἷς πρὸς τὰ βίαια ὑπηρεταῖς
 ἐκείνοι χρώνται καταστήσαντες ὑπὸ δίκην, ἀνάδοτε
 τῷ δήμῳ τὰς περὶ αὐτῶν ψήφους, αἰτιασάμενοι
 παρὰ τοὺς ἱεροὺς νόμους βιάζεσθαι καὶ καταλύειν
 ὑμῶν τὴν ἀρχήν."

XL Τοιαῦτ' εἰπόντος αὐτοῦ τὸ μὲν πλῆθος οὐ-
 τως οἰκείως διετέθη πρὸς τοὺς λόγους καὶ τοσαύ-
 την ἀπεδείξατο ἀγανάκτησιν πρὸς τὸ ἀντίπαλον,
 ὥσθ', ὅπερ ἔφην καὶ κατ' ἀρχάς, μηδὲ λόγον ἔτι
 2 βούλεσθαι τῶν ἀντιλεξόντων ὑπομένειν. ὁ μέντοι
 δήμαρχος Ἰκίλλιος ἀναστὰς τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ἔφη πάν-
 τα ὀρθῶς εἰπεῖν Σίκκιον καὶ μακρὸν ἔπαινον τοῦ
 ἀνδρὸς διεξῆλθε· τὸ δὲ μὴ μεταδιδόναι λόγον τοῖς
 ἀντιλέξαι βουλομένοις οὔτε δίκαιοι ἀπέφαιναν οὔτε
 πολιτικόν, ἄλλως τε καὶ περὶ νόμου τῆς ζητήσεως
 γινομένης ὃς ἔμελλε κρείττονα ποιήσῃ τὴν δίκην
 τῆς βίας. ταύτῃ γὰρ ἀφορμῇ χρήσεσθαι¹ τοὺς
 μηδὲν ἴσως καὶ δικαίως² τοῖς πολλοῖς φρονοῦντας
 τοῦ ταραττεῖν πάλιν καὶ διυστάναι τὰ συμφέροντα
 3 τῆς πόλεως. ταῦτ' εἰπὼν καὶ τὴν ἐπιούσαν ἀπο-

¹ Hudson : χρήσασθαι AB.

² ἴσον καὶ δίκαιον Cobet.

tribunes propose it, ratify the agrarian law, not tolerating even a word from those of the opposite opinion. As for you, tribunes, you need no exhortation to this task, since you began it and in not yielding do well. And if the self-willed and shameless young men obstruct you by overturning the voting-urns, snatching away the ballots or committing any other disorders in connexion with the voting, show them what power your college possesses. And since you cannot depose the consuls from power, bring to trial the private persons whom they use as the agents of their violence and take the votes of the populace concerning them, after charging them with attempting to violate and overthrow your magistracy contrary to the sacred laws."

XL When he had spoken to this effect, the plebeians were so won over by his words and showed so great indignation against their adversaries that, as I said at the outset, they were unwilling to tolerate even another word from those who were intending to speak against the law. Icilius the tribune, however, rose and said that everything else Siccius had said was excellent, and he praised the man at length, but as to not permitting those who wished to oppose the measure to speak, that, he declared, was neither just nor democratic, especially as the debate was about a law which would make justice superior to violence. For such an opportunity would be used by those who entertained no sentiments of equality and justice toward the masses to disturb them again and cause factious divisions about the interests of the commonwealth. Having spoken thus and assigned

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δείξας ἡμέραν τοῖς κατηγόροις τοῦ νόμου διέλυσε τὴν ἐκκλησίαν. οἱ δὲ ὕπατοι συναγαγόντες ἰδιωτικὸν συνέδριον πατρικίων τῶν ἀνδρειοτάτων τε καὶ μάλιστα ἐν τῇ πόλει τότ' ἀνθούντων ἐδίδασκον αὐτοὺς ὥς κωλυτέος εἶη σφίσιν ὁ νόμος, λόγοις μὲν πρῶτον, εἰ δὲ μὴ πείθωσι τὸν δῆμον, ἔργοις ἐκέλευόν τε ἅπασιν ἤκειν ἔωθεν εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν ἅμα τοῖς ἐταίροις τε καὶ πελάταις, ὅσοις ἂν ἕκαστοι
 4 πλείστοις δύνωνται ἔπειτα τοὺς μὲν περὶ αὐτὸ τὸ βῆμα καὶ τὸ ἐκκλησιαστήριον ἐστῶτας ὑπομένειν, τοὺς δὲ κατὰ πολλὰ τῆς ἀγορᾶς μέρη συστρέψαντας ἑαυτοὺς διαστήναι, ὥστε διειληφθῆαι τὸ δημοτικὸν διεσπασμένον καὶ κωλύεσθαι πρὸς αὐτῶν εἰς ἓν συνελθεῖν ἐδόκει ταῦτα κράτιστα εἶναι, καὶ πρὶν ἡμέραν λαμπρὰν γενέσθαι τὰ πολλὰ τῆς ἀγορᾶς κατείχετο ὑπὸ τῶν πατρικίων

XLI Μετὰ ταῦτα οἱ τε δήμαρχοι καὶ οἱ ὕπατοι παρῆσαν καὶ λέγειν ὁ κῆρυξ ἐκέλευσε τὸν βουλόμενον τοῦ νόμου κατηγορεῖν. πολλῶν δὲ καὶ ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν παριόντων οὐθενὸς ἐξάκουστος ἦν ὁ λόγος ὑπὸ τοῦ θορύβου τε καὶ τῆς¹ ἀκοσμίας τῶν ἐκκλησιαζόντων. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἐπεκέλευόν τε καὶ ἐπεθάρρυνον τοὺς λέγοντας, οἱ δ' ἐξέβαλλόν τε καὶ κατεβόων. ἐκράτει δὲ οὔτε ὁ τῶν συλλαμβανόντων ἔπαινος οὔτε ὁ τῶν ἀντιπραττόντων θόρυβος.
 2 ἀγανακτοῦντων δὲ τῶν ὑπάτων καὶ μαρτυρομένων ὅτι τῆς βίας ὁ δῆμος ἄρχει λόγον οὐκ ἀξιῶν ὑπομένειν, ἀπελογοῦντο οἱ δήμαρχοι πρὸς ταῦτα ὅτι ἡδὴ πέμπτον ἔτος τῶν αὐτῶν ἀκούοντες λόγων² οὐθὲν ποιοῦσι θαυμαστὸν εἰ μὴ ἀξιούσιν ὑπομένειν ἐώλους

¹ τῆς Bb : om. R.

² τῶν αὐτῶν ἀ λόγων AB · τὸν αὐτὸν ἀ. λόγον R.

the following day to the opponents of the law, he dismissed the assembly. The consuls, on their side, called a private meeting of those patricians who were the bravest and in the highest repute in the city at the time, and showed them that they must hinder the law from passing, first by their words, and if they could not persuade the populace, then by their deeds. They bade them all come early in the morning to the Forum with as many friends and clients as each of them could get together; then some of them should take their stand round the tribunal itself and the comitum and remain there, while others, forming in groups, took up positions in many different parts of the Forum, in order to keep the plebeians divided and hinder them from uniting in one body. This seemed to be the best plan, and before it was broad daylight the greater part of the Forum was occupied by the patricians.

XLI After that the tribunes and the consuls appeared and the herald bade anyone who so desired to speak against the law. But though many good men came forward, the words of none of them could be heard by reason of the tumult and disorderly behaviour of the assembly. For some cheered and encouraged the speakers, while others were for throwing them out or for shouting them down, but neither the applause of the supporters nor the clamour of the opponents prevailed. When the consuls were incensed at this and protested that the populace had begun the violence by refusing to tolerate a word, the tribunes attempted to justify them by saying that, inasmuch as the plebeians kept hearing the same arguments for now the fifth year, they were doing nothing remarkable if they did not care to put

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3 καὶ κατημαξευμένας ἀντιλογίας. ὥς δὲ τὸ πλεῖον
 τῆς ἡμέρας εἰς ταῦτα ἔδαπανήθη καὶ ὁ δῆμος
 ἀπῆται τὰς ψήφους, οὐκέτι ἀνασχετὸν ἡγησάμενοι
 τὸ πρᾶγμα οἱ νεώτατοι τῶν πατρικίων διίστασθαι
 τε βουλομένοις κατὰ φυλὰς τοῖς δημόταις ἐμποδῶν
 ἐγίνοντο καὶ τὰ ἀγγεῖα τῶν ψήφων τοὺς ἔχοντας
 ἀφηροῦντο καὶ τῶν ὑπηρετούντων τοὺς μὴ βουλο-
 μένους ταῦτα ἀφιέναι τύπτοντές τε καὶ ὠθοῦντες
 4 ἐξέβαλλον. κεκραγόντων δὲ τῶν δημάρχων καὶ εἰς
 μέσους αὐτοὺς ὠθουμένων ἐκείνοις μὲν ὑπεχώρουν
 καὶ παρέιχον ὅποι βούλονται¹ χωρεῖν ἀδεῶς, τοῦ δ'
 ἄλλου δήμου τό τε ἐπόμενον² αὐτοῖς καὶ τὸ κατ'
 ἄλλα καὶ ἄλλα μέρη τῆς ἀγορᾶς ὑπὸ θορύβου καὶ
 ἀταξίας κινούμενον ἐπ' αὐτοὺς³ οὐ παρέσαν,⁴ ὥστ'
 5 ἀνωφελὴς ἦν ἡ τῶν ἀρχόντων βοήθεια. τέλος δ'
 οὖν ἐπεκράτησαν οἱ πατρικιοὶ καὶ οὐκ εἶσαν ἐπι-
 κυρωθῆναι τὸν νόμον οἱ δὲ προθυμότατα συλ-
 λαβέσθαι δόξαντες τοῖς ὑπάτοις ἐκ τριῶν οἰκιῶν
 ἦσαν, Ποστόμιοι καὶ Σεμπρώνιοι καὶ τρίτοι Κλοί-
 λιοι, γένους τε ἀξιῶσαι λαμπρότατοι καὶ ἐταιρίαις
 μεγάλα δυνάμενοι πλούτῳ τε καὶ δόξῃ καὶ τοῖς
 κατὰ πόλεμον ἔργοις ἐπιφανεῖς· καὶ τοῦ μὴ κυρω-
 θῆναι τὸν νόμον οὗτοι ὡμολογοῦντο αἰτιώτατοι
 γενέσθαι

XLII Τῇ δ' ἐξῆς ἡμέρᾳ παραλαβόντες οἱ δῆμ-
 αρχοὶ τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους τῶν δημοτικῶν ἐσκό-
 πουν ὃ τι χρήσονται τοῖς πράγμασι, κοινὸν μὲν

¹ βούλονται R βούλονται B.

² τό τε ἐπόμενον Sylburg, τὸ ἐπόμενον Jacoby · τότε ἐπο-
 μένου A, τοῦ ἐπομένου Bb, τοὺς ἐπομένους Kiessling

³ καὶ τὸ κατ' ἄλλα ἐπ' αὐτοὺς Sylburg, from his Co-
 dex Romanus : om. AB, Jacoby.

⁴ παρέσαν A : παρείσαν (?) Ba, παρήσαν Bb

up with stale and trite objections. When most of the day had been spent in these contests and the populace insisted upon giving their votes, the youngest of the patricians, regarding the situation as no longer endurable, hindered the plebeians when they wished to divide themselves by tribes, took away the voting-urns from those who were in charge of them, and beating and pushing such of the attendants as would not part with them, sought to drive them from the comitium. But when the tribunes cried out and rushed into their midst, the youths made way for those magistrates and permitted them to go in safety wherever they wished, but of the rest of the populace they did not let pass either those who were in the tribunes' train or those who in various parts of the Forum were endeavouring amid the uproar and disorder to move toward them¹; hence the assistance of the tribunes was of no avail. In the end, at any rate, the patricians prevailed and would not permit the law to be ratified. Those who were reputed to have assisted the consuls with the greatest zeal on this occasion were of three families, the Postumii, the Sempronii, and third, the Cloelii, all of them men most illustrious for the dignity of their birth, very powerful because of their bands of followers, and distinguished for their wealth, their reputation and their exploits in war. These, it was agreed, were the chief agents in preventing the law from being ratified.

XLII The next day the tribunes, having associated with themselves the most prominent plebeians, considered how they should deal with the situation,

¹ The clause "or those who in various parts . . . move toward them" is reported only from a MS. now lost. Recent editors have bracketed these words.

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τοῦτο καὶ¹ παρὰ πάντων ὁμολογούμενον εἰληφότες,
 τὸ μὴ τοὺς ὑπάτους ἄγειν ὑπὸ² τὴν³ δίκην, ἀλλὰ
 τοὺς ὑπηρετοῦντας αὐτοῖς ἰδιώτας, ὧν κολαζο-
 μένων ἔμελλε τοῖς πολλοῖς τῶν πολιτῶν ἐλάττων
 ἔσεσθαι λόγος, ὥσπερ ὁ Σίκκιος ὑπετίθετο· περὶ δὲ
 τοῦ πλήθους τῶν ὑπὸ τὰς αἰτίας ἀχθησομένων ὅσον
 εἶναι χρή, καὶ περὶ τοῦ ὀνόματος ὃ θήσονται τῇ δί-
 κῃ, καὶ μάλιστα περὶ τοῦ τιμήματος πηλίκον ἔσται
 2 τὸ μέγεθος, ἐπιμελῇ ποιούμενοι ζήτησιν οἱ μὲν
 οὖν χαλεπώτεροι τὰς φύσεις ἐπὶ τὸ μεῖζόν τε καὶ
 φοβερώτερον⁴ ἅπαντα ταῦτα προάγειν παρήνουν,
 οἱ δ' ἐπιεικέστεροι τοῦναντίον ἐπὶ τὸ μετριώτε-
 ρον καὶ φιланθρωπότερον, ὃ δὲ ταύτης ἡγούμενος
 τῆς γνώμης καὶ πείσας αὐτοὺς ἦν Σίκκιος, ὃ τοὺς
 ἐν τῷ δήμῳ περὶ τῆς κληρουχίας⁵ διελθὼν λόγους.
 3 ἔδοξε δ' οὖν αὐτοῖς τὸ μὲν ἄλλο πλήθος τῶν πα-
 τρικίων ἑᾶσαι, Κλουίλους δὲ καὶ Ποστομίους καὶ
 Σεμπρωνίους ἐπὶ τὸν δῆμον ἄγειν ὧν ἔπραξαν
 ὑφέξοντας δίκας⁶. ἐγκαλεῖν δ' αὐτοῖς ὅτι τῶν ἱερῶν
 νόμων, οὓς περὶ τῶν δημάρχων ἐκύρωσεν ἡ βουλή
 καὶ ὁ δῆμος, οὐθενὶ δεδωκότων ἐξουσίαν ἀναγκά-
 ζειν τοὺς δημάρχους ὑπομένειν τι τῶν ἀβουλήτων
 ὥσπερ τοὺς ἄλλους πολίτας, ἐκεῖνοι κατασχόντες
 αὐτοὺς ἐκώλυσαν ἐπὶ τέλος ἄγειν τὴν περὶ τοῦ
 4 νόμου διάγνωσιν. τίμημα δ' ἐφάνη ταῖς δίκαις ὀρί-
 σαι μήτε θάνατον μήτε φυγὴν μήτ' ἄλλο ἐπίφθορον
 μηδέν, ἵνα μὴ τοῦτ' αὐτοῖς γένηται σωτηρίας αἴ-
 τιον, ἀλλὰ τὰς οὐσίας αὐτῶν ἱερὰς εἶναι Δήμητρος,
 τὸ μετριώτατον ἐκλεξαμένοις τοῦ νόμου μέρος.

¹ καὶ τοῦτο καὶ AB.

² ἐπὶ A.

³ τὴν deleted by Garrér.

⁴ Steph : φοβερώτατον AB

⁵ περὶ τῆς κληρουχίας om. A.

⁶ δίκας B : δίκην A.

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after adopting the general principle, accepted by all, not to bring the consuls themselves to trial, but only their attendants who held no office, since their punishment would be a matter of less concern to most citizens, as Siccus suggested. But the number of the persons to be indicted, the name that should be given to the offence, and the amount of the fine were matters to which they gave careful consideration. Now while those who were naturally more truculent advised going in all these matters to a greater and more terrifying length, and the more reasonable, on the contrary, to a more moderate and humane extent, the man who took the lead for the latter opinion and won the assent of the others was Siccus, who had made the speech in the popular assembly in favour of the land-allotment. They resolved, then, to let the rest of the patricians alone, but to bring the Cloellus, the Postumus and the Sempronius before the popular assembly to stand trial for their acts, and to make the charge against them that, whereas the sacred laws, which the senate and the assembly had enacted concerning the tribunes, had given no one authority to compel the tribunes to submit, like the other citizens, to anything against their will, these men had restrained them and prevented them from carrying through the deliberation concerning the law. As for the penalty in these trials, they decided to fix neither death, banishment, nor any other invidious punishment, lest that very thing should become the cause of their salvation,¹ but that their estates should be consecrated to Ceres—thus choosing the mildest punishment provided by the law

¹ Cf. vii. 64, 6.

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5 ἐγίνετο ταῦτα καὶ παρῆν ὁ χρόνος ἐν ᾧ τὰς κατὰ τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἔδει συντελεῖσθαι δίκας τοῖς δ' ὑπάτοις καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πατρικίων τοῖς παραληφθεῖσιν εἰς τὸ συνέδριον (ἔτυχον δ' οἱ κράτιστοι παρακληθέντες) ἐδόκει συγχωρεῖν τοῖς δημάρχους ἐπιτελέσαι¹ τὰς δίκας, ἵνα μὴ τι μεῖζον κωλυθέντες ἐξεργάσωνται κακόν, καὶ τοῖς δημόταις ἐπιτρέπειν ἀγριαινομένοις εἰς τὰ χρήματα τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐκχέαι τὴν χολήν, ἵνα τιθασώτεροι γένωνται τὸ λοιπόν, λαβόντες ὅποσην οὖν² παρὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν δίκην, ἄλλως τε καὶ τῆς εἰς χρήματα ζημίας εὐδιόρθωτον ἐχούσης τοῖς πεπονητοῖσι τὴν συμφοράν· ὅπερ
6 καὶ συνέβη. ἀλόντων γὰρ τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐρήμους τὰς δίκας ὃ τε δῆμος ἀγριαινόμενος ἐπαύσατο καὶ τοῖς δημάρχους ἐδόκει τις ἀποδεδόσθαι μετρία καὶ πολιτικὴ βοήθεια,³ τοῖς τε ἀνδράσι τὰς οὐσίας οἱ πατρίκιοι παρὰ τῶν ὠνησαμένων ἐκ τοῦ δημοσίου τῆς ἴσης λυσάμενοι τιμῆς ἀπέδοσαν. καὶ τὰ μὲν κατεπείγοντα δεινὰ τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον χρησαμένων τοῖς πράγμασιν αὐτῶν διελέλυτο

XLIII. Μετ' οὐ πολὺ δὲ πάλιν τῶν δημάρχων τὸν ὑπὲρ τοῦ νόμου εἰσφερόντων λόγον αἰφνιδίως τις ἀπαγγελθεῖσα⁴ πολεμίων ἔφοδος ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν Τυσκλανῶν πόλιν αἰτία κωλύσεως ἀποχρῶσα ἐγένετο τῶν γὰρ Τυσκλανῶν κατὰ πλῆθος⁵ εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην ἀφικομένων καὶ λεγόντων ὅτι δυνάμει πολλῇ πάρειςιν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς Αἰκανοὶ καὶ τὴν μὲν

¹ ἐπιτελέσαι R. ἐπιτελέσασθαι B.

² ὅποσην οὖν (ὀπόσην οὖν) G Krüger, Kiessling. ὀπόσην οὖν O

While this was going on the time arrived when the trials of the men were to take place. The consuls and the other patricians who had been invited to the senate-house—the most influential had been summoned—decided to let the tribunes carry out the trials, lest, if they were hindered, they might do some greater mischief, and to allow the enraged plebeians to spend their fury upon the goods of these men, to the end that they might be milder for the future, after taking some revenge, however slight, upon their enemies, particularly since a monetary fine was a misfortune that could easily be made up to the sufferers. And so in fact it turned out. For when the men had been condemned by default, the populace ceased from its anger, and also it seemed that a moderate and statesmanlike power of rendering assistance had been restored to the tribunes, while as for the convicted men, their estates were ransomed by the patricians from those who had purchased them from the treasury for the same price they had paid for them and were restored to the owners. As a result of their handling the matter in this fashion the pressing dangers were dispelled.

XLIII Not long afterwards, when the tribunes again introduced the subject of the law, the sudden announcement that enemies had made an attack upon Tusculum furnished a sufficient reason for preventing such action. For the Tusculans, coming to Rome in great numbers, said that the Aequians had come against them with a large army, that they had

³ μετρία καὶ πολιτικὴ βοήθεια AB μετρία γοῦν καὶ πολιτικὴ δύναμις καὶ βοήθεια R.

⁴ ἀπαγγελθεῖσα Bb, ἀπαγγεῖσα Jacoby ἀγγελία A, ἀγγεῖσα R

⁵ πλήθος B πλήθη R.

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χώραν αὐτῶν ἤδη διηρπάκασι, τὴν δὲ πόλιν, ἂν
 μή τις γένηται ταχεῖα ἐπικουρία, φθάσουσιν ἐντὸς
 ὀλίγων ἡμερῶν ἀράμενοι, ἥ μὲν¹ βουλὴ τοὺς ὑπά-
 τους αὐτοῖς ἐψηφίσατο βοηθεῖν ἀμφοτέρους, οἱ δ'
 ὕπατοι στρατολογίαν προθέντες ἐκάλουν τοὺς πο-
²λίτας ἅπαντας ἐπὶ τὰ ὄπλα. ἐγένετο μὲν οὖν τις³
 καὶ τότε στάσις ἐναντιουμένων τῇ καταγραφῇ τῶν
 δημάρχων καὶ τὰς ἐκ τῶν νόμων τιμωρίας οὐ
 συγχωρούντων ποιεῖσθαι κατὰ τῶν ἀπειθούντων.
 ἔπραξαν³ δ' οὐθέν. συνελθοῦσα γὰρ ἡ βουλὴ γνώ-
 μην ἀπεδείξατο τοὺς πατρικίους ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον
 ἐξιέναι σὺν τοῖς ἑαυτῶν πελάταις, τῶν δ' ἄλλων
 πολιτῶν τοῖς μὲν βουλομένοις μετέχειν τῆς στρα-
 τείας ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ τῆς πατρίδος γινομένης ὅσα
 εἶναι τὰ πρὸς θεοὺς, τοῖς δ' ἐγκαταλείπουσι τοὺς
³ὑπάτους τάναντία. ὥς δ' ἀνεγνώσθη τὸ δόγμα τῆς
 βουλῆς ἐν τῇ⁴ ἐκκλησίᾳ, πολλοὶ καὶ τοῦ δήμου τὸν
 ἀγῶνα ἐκόντες ὑπέμειναν· οἱ μὲν ἐπιεικέστατοι δι'
 αἰσχύνῃν εἰ μηδὲν ἐπικουρήσουσι πόλει συμμάχῳ
 διὰ τὴν πρὸς αὐτοὺς εὖνοιαν αἰεὶ τι πρὸς τῶν ἐχ-
 θρῶν βλαπτομένη ἐν οἷς ἦν καὶ ὁ Σίκκιος ἐκεῖνος
 ὁ κατηγορήσας ἐν τῷ δήμῳ τῶν σφετερισμένων
 τὴν δημοσίαν γῆν, σπείραν ἐπαγόμενος ὀκτακοσί-
 ων ἀνδρῶν, οἱ στρατεύεσθαι μὲν οὐκέτι ὥραν εἶχον,
 ὥσπερ οὐδ' ἐκεῖνος, οὐδ' ἐπιπτον ὑπὸ τὰς ἀνάγκας
 τῶν νόμων, τιμῶντες δὲ τὸν ἄνδρα διὰ πολλὰς καὶ
 μεγάλας εὐεργεσίας, ἐξιόντος ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον οὐκ
⁴ἐδικαίωσαν ἀπολείπεσθαι καὶ ἦν τοῦτο τὸ μέρος
 τῆς ἐξεληθούσης τότε δυνάμεως ἐμπειρία τε ἀγώνων

¹ μὲν A : μὲν οὖν R

² τις B · om. R.

³ Reiske : ἔπραξεν O

⁴ τῇ added by Reiske.

already plundered their country, and unless some assistance were speedily sent, they would be masters of the city within a few days. Upon this the senate ordered that both consuls should go to the rescue ; and the consuls, having announced a levy, summoned all the citizens to arms. On this occasion also there was something of a sedition, as the tribunes opposed the levy and would not permit the punishments ordained by law to be inflicted on the disobedient. But they accomplished nothing. For the senate met and passed a resolution ordering that the patricians should take the field with their clients, and declaring that to such of the other citizens as were willing to take part in this expedition undertaken for the preservation of the fatherland the gods were propitious, but to those who deserted the consuls they were unpropitious. When the decree of the senate was read in the assembly, many also of the populace voluntarily consented to enter the struggle, the more respectable moved by shame if they should not succour an allied city which because of its attachment to the Romans was always suffering some injury at the hands of its foes. Among these was Siccus, who in the popular assembly had inveighed against those who had appropriated the public land, and he brought with him a cohort of eight hundred men¹; these were, like himself, past the military age and not subject to the compulsion of the laws, but as they honoured him because of his many great services, they did not think it right to desert him when he was setting out to war. Indeed, this contingent of the force which set out at that time was far superior to

¹ Livy (iii 31, 2-4) knows nothing of the story of Siccus related in this and the following chapters.

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καὶ τῇ παρὰ τὰ δεινὰ εὐτολμία μακρῷ τοῦ ἄλλου ἄμεινον. οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ χάριτι καὶ παρακλήσει τῶν πρεσβυτάτων ὑπαχθέντες εἶποντο ἦν δέ τι¹ μέρος ὁ τῶν ὠφελειῶν ἔνεκα τῶν ἐν ταῖς στρατείαις γινομένων πάντα κίνδυνον ἔτοιμον ἦν ὑπομένειν. καὶ δι' ὀλίγου χρόνου δύναμις ἐξῆλθε πλήθει τε ἀποχρῶσα καὶ παρασκευαῖς κεχρημένη² λαμπροτάταις.

5 οἱ μὲν οὖν πολέμιοι προακούσαντες ὅτι μέλλουσιν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἐξάγειν Ῥωμαῖοι στρατιάν, ἀπήγον ἐπ' οἴκου τὰς δυνάμεις. οἱ δ' ὕπατοι κατὰ σπουδὴν ἐλαύνοντες καταλαμβάνουσιν ἐστρατοπεδευκότας αὐτοὺς πόλεως Ἀντίου πλησίον ἐν ὑψηλῷ καὶ ἀποτόμῳ χωρίῳ καὶ τίθενται τὴν παρεμβολὴν τῆς

6 ἐκείνων οὐ πρόσω. τέως μὲν οὖν ἐν ταῖς ἐαυτῶν ἐπέμενον³ ἀμφοτέρω παρεμβολαῖς, ἔπειτα καταφρονήσαντες τῶν Ῥωμαίων Αἰκανοὶ τῆς οὐ προεπιχειρήσεως καὶ πλῆθος οὐχ ἱκανοὺς εἶναι νομίσαντες, ἀγοράς τ' αὐτῶν περιέκοπτον ἐξιόντες καὶ τοὺς ἐπὶ προνομῇ⁴ ἀποστελλομένους ἢ χόρτον ἵπποις⁵ ἀνεκρούοντο καὶ τοῖς⁶ πρὸς ὕδρεϊαν καταβαίνουσιν αἰφνιδίως ἐπετίθεντο, προῦκαλοῦντό τ' αὐτοὺς πολλάκις εἰς μάχην.

XLIV Ταῦθ' ὁρῶσι τοῖς ὑπάτοις ἐδόκει μηκέτι διατρίβειν τὸν πόλεμον. ἦν δ' ἐν ἐκείναις ταῖς ἡμέραις ἡ τοῦ πολεμεῖν ἐξουσία Ῥωμιλίῳ προσήκουσα, καὶ ὁ τὸ σύνθημα διδούς καὶ εἰς τάξιν καθιστὰς ἄρχειν⁷ τε καὶ παύεσθαι μάχης τὸν καιρὸν ταμιεύων ἐκείνος ἦν· ὃς ἐπειδὴ τὰ σημεῖα ἐκέλευσεν

¹ ἦν δὲ καὶ τι Cobet

² κεκοσμημένη Garrer, κεχορηγημένη Schenkl

³ ἐπέμενον AB : ὑπέμενον R.

⁴ προνομῇ B : νομῇ R

⁵ ἵπποις Vassiss.

the rest of the army in point both of experience in action and of courage in the face of dangers. The majority of those who followed along were led to do so out of goodwill toward the oldest citizens and because of their exhortations. And there was a certain element which was ready to undergo any peril for the sake of the booty that is acquired in campaigns. Thus in a short time an army took the field that was sufficient in numbers and most splendidly equipped. The enemy, who had learned in advance that the Romans intended to lead out an army against them, were returning homeward with their forces. But the consuls, making a forced march, came up with them while they lay encamped on a high and steep hill near the city of Antium and placed their camp not far from that of the foe. For some time both armies remained in their camps; then the Aequians, despising the Romans for not having taken the initiative in attacking, and judging their army to be insufficient in numbers, sallied out and cut off their provisions, drove back those who were sent out for provender or fodder for their horses, fell suddenly upon those who went for water, and challenged them repeatedly to battle.

XLIV. The consuls, seeing this, resolved to put off the fighting no longer. During those days it was Romulus' turn to decide whether to fight or not, and it was he who gave the watchword, drew up the army and determined the proper moment both for beginning and for ending battle. He, having ordered

⁶ τοῖς added by Kiessling

⁷ τοῦ ἀρχεῖν Reiske

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ἀρθῆναι τῆς¹ μάχης καὶ προῆγεν² ἐκ τοῦ χάρακος
 τὸν στρατόν, τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους ἔτασεν ἵππεις τε
 καὶ τοὺς πεζοὺς κατὰ σπείρας ἐν τοῖς ἐπιτηδεύουσιν
 ἐκάστους τόποις, τὸν δὲ Σίκκιον καλέσας λέγει·
 2 “ Ἡμεῖς μὲν, ὦ Σίκκιε, μαχοῦμεθα τοῖς πολεμίοις
 ἐνθάδε, σὺ δ’, ἐν ὧν μέλλομεν ἔτι καὶ παρασκευα-
 ζόμεθα τὰ πρὸς τὸν ἀγῶνα ἀμφοτέρω, χώρει τὴν
 πλαγίαν ἐκείνην ὁδὸν ἐπὶ τὸ ὄρος ἐνθα ἡ τῶν
 πολεμίων ἐστὶ παρεμβολή καὶ μάχην τίθεσο πρὸς
 τοὺς ἐν τῷ χάρακι, ἵν’ ἡ περὶ τῷ φρουρίῳ δέισαντες
 οἱ πρὸς ἡμᾶς μαχόμενοι καὶ βοηθεῖν προθυμούμενοι
 νῶτά τε δείξωσι καὶ εὐκατέρηστοι γένωνται,
 καθάπερ εἰκὸς ἐν ἀναχωρήσει ταχεῖα καὶ εἰς μίαν
 ὁδὸν ἅπαντες βιαζόμενοι, ἢ μένοντες αὐτόθι τὸν
 3 χάρακα ἀποβάλωσιν. οὔτε γὰρ ἡ φυλάττουσα αὐ-
 τὸν δύναμις ἀξιόμαχος ἐστίν, ὥς εἰκάσειεν ἂν τις,
 ἐπὶ τῷ ἐρυμνῷ τοῦ τόπου δοκοῦσα εἶναι πᾶν τὸ
 ἀσφαλές· ἡ τε ἅμα σοι δύναμις ἀποχρῶσα γένοιτ’
 ἂν, ἄνδρες ὀκτακόσιοι πολλῶν ἀθληταὶ πολέμων,
 τεταραγμένους σκηνοφύλακας ἀπροσδόκητοι προσ-
 4 πεσόντες τῷ τολμηρῷ ἐλεῖν.” καὶ ὁ Σίκκιος
 ἔφησεν· “ Ἄλλ’ ἐγωγε ἅπαντα μὲν ἔτοιμος ὑπηρε-
 τεῖν· τὸ μέντοι ἔργον οὐ ῥάδιον ὥσπερ σοι δοκεῖ
 ὑψηλὴ τε γὰρ ἡ πέτρα καὶ ἀπότομος ἐφ’ ἧς ὁ
 χάραξ, ὁδὸν τε οὐδεμίαν ὁρῶ φέρουσαν ἐπ’ αὐτὸν³
 ἔξω τῆς μιᾶς ἢ καταβήσονται οἱ πολέμοι πρὸς
 ἡμᾶς, φυλακὴν τ’ εἰκὸς ἀξιόμαχον εἶναι ἐν αὐτῇ
 καὶ ὀλίγη δὲ πάνυ καὶ φαύλη τις οὖσα τύχη, πρὸς
 πολλῷ πλείονα ἢ τὴν σὺν ἐμοὶ δύναμιν ἀντέχειν οἷα
 τε ἔσται, τό τε χωρίον αὐτὸ παρέξει τῇ φυλακῇ τοῦ
 5 μὴ ἀλώσεσθαι τὸ ἀσφαλές. ἀλλὰ μάλιστα μὲν

¹ ἐκ before τῆς deleted by Sylburg.

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the battle standards to be raised and led his army out of the camp, posted the horse and foot according to their companies, each in their proper places, and then, summoning Siccius, said : " We, Siccius, are going to engage the enemy here ; but as for you, while we are still waiting and preparing on both sides for the contest, do you march by yonder transverse road to the top of the hill where the enemy's camp is placed and give battle to the men inside, in order that those who are engaged with us may either, fearing for their stronghold and eager to relieve it, show their backs and thus be easily defeated, as likely they will be when they are making a hasty retreat and are all forcing their way into one road, or may, by staying here, lose their camp. For not only is the force guarding it not a match for you, in all probability, believing as it does that its whole security depends on the natural strength of the position, but the force with you, eight hundred men, veterans of many wars, should be sufficient to capture by a bold stroke mere tent-guards when thrown into confusion by your unexpected attack " And Siccius replied . " For my part, I am ready to obey in everything ; but the task is not so easy as it seems to you. For the cliff on which the camp is situated is lofty and steep, and I see no road leading to it except the one by which the enemy will come down against us, and it is probable that there is an adequate guard placed over it ; but even if it should chance to be a very small and weak one, it will be able to hold out against a much larger force than the one I have, and the place itself will afford the guard security against being captured

² προήγεν R (?), προήγαγεν Kiessling προσηγεν B.

³ αὐτὸν Bb : αὐτοὺς ABa, αὐτήν Kiessling.

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ἀνάθου τὴν γνώμην· ἡ πείρα γὰρ ἐπισφαλής· εἰ δὲ πάντως ἐγνωσταί σοι δύο τίθεσθαι μάχας ἐν ἐνὶ καιρῷ, δύναμιν ἀξιόχρεων ἀνδρῶν ἐπιλέκτων τάξον ἀκολουθεῖν μοι σὺν τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις. οὐ γὰρ κλέψοντες τὸ χωρίον, ἀλλὰ βία καὶ φανερώς ἐξελοῦντες¹ ἄνιμεν.”

XLV. Ἔτι δ’ αὐτοῦ βουλομένου λέγειν τὰκόλουθα ὑπολαβὼν ὁ ὕπατος εἶπεν “ Οὐ πολλῶν δεῖ λόγων, ἀλλ’ εἰ μὲν ὑπομένεις πράττειν τὰ προσταττόμενα, χώρει διὰ ταχέων καὶ μὴ παραστρατήγει, εἰ δὲ ἀφίστασαι καὶ ἀποδιδράσκεῖς τὸν κίνδυνον,²
² ἐτέροις εἰς τὸ ἔργον χρήσομαι. σὺ δὲ τὰς ἑκατὸν εἴκοσι μάχας ἀγωνισάμενος καὶ τὰ τετταράκοντα ἔτη στρατευσάμενος καὶ κατατετρωμένος ὅλον τὸ σῶμα, ἐπειδὴ ἐκὼν ἦλθες, ἄπιθι μῆτε ὀμιλήσας πολεμίοις μῆτ’ ἰδὼν καὶ ἀντὶ τῶν ὄπλων ἀκόνα πάλιν τοὺς λόγους οἷς ἀφθόνοις χρήσῃ κατὰ τῶν πατρικίων.³
³ ποῦ νῦν ἐκείνά σου τὰ πολλὰ ἀριστεία, οἱ⁴ στρεπτοὶ καὶ τὰ ψέλλια καὶ τὰ δόρατα καὶ τὰ φάλαρα καὶ οἱ τῶν ὑπάτων στέφανοι καὶ τὰ ἐκ τῶν μονομαχιῶν λάφυρα καὶ πᾶσα ἡ⁵ ἄλλη βαρύτης ἦν τότ’ ἠνεσχόμεθά σου λέγοντος; ἐν ἐνὶ γὰρ δὴ τῷδε τῷ ἔργῳ βασανιζόμενος, ἔνθα κίνδυνος ἦν ἀληθινός, ἐξητάσθης οἷος ἦσθα, ὡς ἀλαζών⁶ καὶ δόξῃ⁴ τὸ ἀνδρεῖον ἐπιτηδεύων, οὐκ ἀληθεία” καὶ ὁ Σίκκιος δυσανασχετῶν ἐπὶ τοῖς ὀνειδέσιν· “ Οἶδα,” φησὶν, “ ὦ Ῥωμίλιε, ὅτι δυεῖν πρόκειται σοι θάτερον, ἢ ζῶντά με⁷ διεργάσασθαι καὶ τὸ μηδὲν

¹ ἐξελοῦντες Bb . ἐξαιροῦντες A.

² τὸν κίνδυνον om A.

³ οἷς ἀφθόνοις χρήσῃ κατὰ τῶν πατρικίων Post, οἷς χρήσῃ κατὰ τῶν πατρικίων R . οἷς χρήσῃ κατὰ τοῦ φθόνου τῶν πατρικίων AB, Jacoby.

Do then, if possible, reconsider your purpose, for the attempt is hazardous ; but if you are absolutely determined to fight two battles at the same time, then order a sufficient force of chosen men to follow me and the older men. For we are not going up to take the place by surprise, but by main force and openly."

XLV. Although Siccus wanted to go on and finish his explanation, the consul interrupted him and said "There is no need of many words. But if you can bring yourself to obey my orders, go at once and do not play the general ; if, however, you decline and run away from the danger, I shall use other men for the task. As for you, who fought those hundred and twenty battles and served those forty years and whose body is covered with wounds, since you came voluntarily, depart without either encountering the enemy or seeing them ; and instead of your arms, sharpen once more your words which you will expend without stint against the patricians. Where now are those many prizes given you for valour, those collars, bracelets, spears, and decorations, those crowns from the consuls, those spoils gained in single combat, and all your other treasures boasting which we had to endure hearing from you the other day ? For when you were tested in this single instance where the danger was real, you proved what sort of man you were—a braggart practising bravery in imagination, not in reality." Siccus, stung by these reproaches, answered. "I am aware, Romilius, that the choice lies before you either to destroy me while alive and make me

⁴ *of* added by Reiske

⁵ ᾗ B · om R

⁶ ὡς ἀλαζών B : om. R.

⁷ με Portus, Sylburg om O, Jacoby.

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ἀποδοῦναι δόξαν αἰσχίστην ἐνεγκάμενον δειλίας,
 ἢ κακῶς καὶ ἀδήλως κατακοπέντα ὑπὸ τῶν πο-
 λεμίων ἀποθανεῖν,¹ ἐπειδὴ καὶ γὰρ τις ἔδοξα εἶναι
 τῶν ἀξιούντων ἐλεύθερα φρονεῖν· οὐ γὰρ εἰς ἄδηλον,
 5 ἄλλ' εἰς ἐγνωσμένον ἀποστέλλεις με θάνατον· πλήν
 ὑπομενῶ καὶ τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον καὶ πειράσομαι φανεῖς
 ψυχὴν οὐ κακὸς ἢ κρατῆσαι τοῦ χάρακος ἢ μὴ
 τυχὼν τῆς ἐλπίδος εὐγενῶς ἀποθανεῖν. ὑμᾶς δέ,
 ὦ συστρατιῶται, μάρτυρας ἀξιῶ γενέσθαι μοι πρὸς
 τοὺς ἄλλους πολίτας, ἔαν πύθῃσθε τὸν ἐμὸν μόρον,
 ὅτι με ἀπώλεσεν ἡ ἀρετὴ καὶ ἡ πολλὴ τῶν λόγων
 6 ἐλευθερία'' ταῦτα πρὸς τὸν ὑπατον ἀποκρινάμε-
 νος καὶ δακρύσας τοὺς τε συνήθεις ἅπαντας ἀσπα-
 σάμενος ὥχето τοὺς ὀκτακοσίους ἄνδρας ἄγων
 κατηφείς καὶ δεδακρυμένους ὡς τὴν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ
 πορευομένους· καὶ ἡ ἄλλη δὲ πᾶσα στρατιὰ δι'
 οἴκτου τὸ πρᾶγμα ἔλαβεν ὡς οὐκέτι ὀψομένη τοὺς
 ἄνδρας.

XLVI. Ὁ δὲ Σίκκιος ἑτέραν ἀποστραφεῖς, οὐχ
 ἦν ὁ Ῥωμίλιος ὑπελάμβανε, παρὰ τὴν λαγόνα τοῦ
 ὄρους ἦγεν. ἔπειτα, ἦν γάρ τις δρυμὸς ὕλην βα-
 θεῖαν ἔχων, εἰς τοῦτον ἄγων τοὺς ἄνδρας ἵσταται
 τε² καὶ φησιν· "Ὑπὸ μὲν τοῦ ἡγεμόνος ἀπεστάλ-
 μεθα, ὥσπερ ὀράτε, ἀπολούμενοι. ἐδόκει γὰρ ἡμᾶς
 τὴν πλαγίαν χωρήσειν ὁδόν, ἣν ἀναβαίνοντας ἀμή-
 χανον ἦν μὴ οὐ φανεροὺς τοῖς πολεμίοις γενέσθαι
 ἐγὼ δ' ὑμᾶς ἄξω κατ'³ ἄδηλον τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ὁδόν

¹ ἀποθανεῖν <ἐάν> Capps, to avoid an awkward change in subject for the infinitive ἀποθανεῖν. Kiessling proposed to read πρόκειται μοι θ, ἢ ζῶντα διεργάσθαι καὶ εἰς τὸ μηδὲν ἀποδοθῆναι, ἢ . . . ἀποθανεῖν. Post would read π. μοι θ., ἢ ζῶντα ἐμαυτὸν διεργάσθαι καὶ τὸ μὴ δέον ἀποδοῦναι.

² τε A : om. R.

³ κατ' Reiske : καὶ O.

a mere nobody bearing the most shameful reputation for cowardice, or that I shall die¹ a miserable and obscure death, hacked to pieces by the enemy, because I too seemed to be one of those who insist on showing the spirit of free men. For you are sending me, not to a doubtful, but to a predetermined death. Yet I will undertake even this task and endeavour, showing myself no coward, either to capture the camp or, failing in that, gallantly to die. And I ask you, fellow soldiers, if you hear of my death, to bear witness for me to the rest of the citizens that I fell a sacrifice to my valour and to my great frankness of speech." Having thus answered the consul, with tears in his eyes, and embraced all his intimate friends, he set out at the head of his eight hundred men, all dejected and weeping, believing that they were taking the road to death. And all the rest of the army were moved to compassion at the sight, expecting to see these men no more.

XLVI Siccus, however, turned off by a different road, not the one which Romilius had in mind, and marched along the flank of the hill. Then—for there was a thicket with a heavy growth of trees in it—he led his men into it, halted there and said: "We have been sent by the commander, as you see, to perish. For he expected us to take the transverse road, which we could not possibly have ascended without coming into full view of the enemy. But I will lead you by a way that is out of the enemy's sight and I have

¹ Or, following the suggestion of Capps, "or to let me die." According to Kiessling we should have: "the choice lies before me either to be destroyed and reduced to a mere nobody . . . or to die"; according to Post: "the choice lies before me either to destroy myself and pay the debt I do not owe . . . or to die."

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καὶ πολλὰς ἐλπίδας ἔχω τρίβων ἐπιλήψεσθαι τινων αἱ κατὰ κορυφῆς¹ ἄξουσιν ἡμᾶς ἐπὶ τὸν χάρακα
 2 καὶ ἐλπίδας χρηστὰς ἔχετε.” ταῦτ’ εἰπὼν ἦγε διὰ τοῦ δρυμοῦ, καὶ πολὺν ἤδη διεληλυθὼς τόπον εὐ-
 ρίσκει κατὰ δαίμονα ἄνδρα ἐξ ἀγροῦ ποθεν ἀπionτα,²
 ὃν τοῖς νεωτάτοις συλλαβεῖν κελεύσας ἡγεμόνα ποιεῖται τῆς ὁδοῦ. κακεῖνος αὐτοὺς ἄγων περὶ³ τὸ ὄρος σὺν πολλῷ χρόνῳ καθίστησιν ἐπὶ τὸν παρα-
 κείμενον τῷ χάρακι λόφον, ὅθεν ἦν ταχεῖα καὶ
 3 εὐεπίφορος ἐπ’ αὐτὸν ὁδός. ἐν ᾧ δὲ ταῦτ’ ἐγίνετο χρόνῳ, συνήεσαν αἱ τε τῶν Ῥωμαίων καὶ αἱ τῶν Αἰκανῶν δυνάμεις ὁμόσε καὶ κατασταῆσαι ἐμάχοντο, πλήθει τ’ ἀγχώμαλοι οὔσαι καὶ ὀπλισμοῖς καὶ προ-
 θυμίαν παρεχόμεναι⁴ τὴν αὐτήν· καὶ διέμειναν ἐπὶ πολὺν χρόνον ἰσόρροποι, τοτὲ μὲν ἐπιβαίνοντες ἀλλήλοις, τοτὲ δ’ ὑποχωροῦντες, ἵππεῖς τε ἵππεῦσι καὶ πεζοὶ πεζοῖς, καὶ ἔπесον ἐξ ἑκατέρων ἄνδρες
 4 ἐπιφανεῖς ἔπειτα κρίσιν λαμβάνει ὁ πόλεμος ἐπι-
 τελῇ ὁ γὰρ Σίκκιος καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ, ἐπειδὴ πλησίον ἐγένοντο τῆς παρεμβολῆς τῶν Αἰκανῶν, ἀφύλακτον εὐρόντες ἐκεῖνο⁵ τὸ μέρος τοῦ χάρακος (ἐπὶ γὰρ θάτερα τὰ πρὸς τοὺς μαχομένους ἐστραμ-
 μένα μέρη πᾶσα ἡ φυλάττουσα αὐτὸν δύναμις ἐτράπετο κατὰ θέαν τοῦ ἀγῶνος), ἐπεισπεσόντες κατὰ πολλὴν εὐπέτειαν κατὰ κορυφῆς γίνονται τῶν
 5 φυλάκων. ἔπειτ’ ἀλαλάξαντες ἔθειον ἐπ’ αὐτούς οἱ δ’ ὑπὸ τοῦ παρ’ ἐλπίδα δεινοῦ ἐκταραχθέντες καὶ οὐ τοσοῦτους εἶναι δόξαντες, ἀλλὰ τὸν ἕτερον ἦκειν ὑπατον ἄγοντα τὴν σὺν αὐτῷ δύναμιν, ἐρρίπτουν ἕξω τοῦ χάρακος ἑαυτούς, οὐδὲ τὰ ὄπλα οἱ πολλοὶ

¹ Reiske : κορυφῆν O.

² ἀπionτα O : ἐπionτα Grasberger.

³ ἐπὶ A

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great hopes of gaining some paths that will bring us over the summit to their camp So I bid you have the best of hopes " Having said this, he led the way through the thicket, and after going a good distance, by good fortune came upon a man who was on his way home from a farm somewhere ; and ordering him to be seized by the youngest men of his company, he took him for his guide. This man, leading them round the hill, brought them after a long time to the height adjacent to the camp, from which there was a short and easy descent to their goal While this was happening, the forces of the Romans and of the Aequians engaged and fought steadfastly, since they were equally matched both in numbers and in armament and displayed the same ardour For a long time they continued to be evenly balanced as they now attacked one another and now withdrew, horse against horse and foot against foot ; and prominent men fell on both sides Then the battle took a definite turn For Siccus and his men, when they came near the camp of the Aequians, found that part of it unguarded, since the entire force appointed to guard it had gone to the other side that faced the field of battle, in order to witness the conflict ; and bursting into the camp with great ease, they found themselves immediately overhead in relation to the guards. Then, uttering their war-cry, they attacked them on the run The garrison, confounded by this unexpected danger and not imagining that their assailants were so few in number, but supposing that the other consul had arrived with his army, hurled themselves out of the camp, most of them not even

⁴ παρεχόμενοι R παρεχόμενοι AB.
⁵ ἐκείνο B . om R

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φυλάξαντες. οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Σίκκιον τοὺς κατα-
 λαμβανομένους αὐτῶν φονεύοντες καὶ τοῦ χάρακος
 6 κρατήσαντες ἐχώρουν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ οἱ
 δὲ Αἰκανοὶ τοῦ χάρακος τὴν ἄλωσιν ἀπὸ τε τῆς
 φυγῆς καὶ τῆς κραυγῆς τῶν σφετέρων αἰσθόμενοι
 καὶ μετ' οὐ πολὺ κατὰ νώτου σφίσι τοὺς πολεμίους
 ἐπιόντας ὁρῶντες, οὐκέτι γενναῖον οὐδὲν ἀπεδεί-
 ξαντο, ἀλλὰ διασπάσαντες τὰς τάξεις ἔσωζον ἑαυ-
 τοὺς ἄλλοι κατ' ἄλλας ὁδοὺς· ἔνθα ὁ πλείστος
 αὐτῶν ἐγένετο¹ φόνος. οὐ γὰρ ἀνέσαν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι
 μέχρι νυκτὸς διώκοντές τε καὶ κτείνοντες τοὺς²
 7 ἀλίσκομένους. ὁ δὲ πλείστους τ' αὐτῶν διαφθείρας
 καὶ λαμπρότατα ἔργα ἀποδειξάμενος Σίκκιος ἦν,
 ὃς, ἐπειδὴ τέλος ἑώρα τὰ τῶν πολεμίων ἔχοντα
 σκότους ὄντος ἡδῆ, τὴν σπεῖραν ἄγων ἐπὶ τὸν
 κρατηθέντα ὑπὸ σφῶν χάρακα ἀνέστρεφε μεγάλης
 8 χαρᾶς καὶ πολλοῦ μεστὸς ὦν αὐχήματος οἱ τε περὶ
 αὐτὸν ἀθῶοι καὶ ἀβλαβεῖς πάντες, οὐ μόνον οὐδὲν
 παθόντες ὦν προσεδόκησαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ δόξαν ἐπι-
 φανεστάτην ἐξενεγκάμενοι, πατέρα καὶ σωτήρα καὶ
 θεὸν καὶ πάντα τὰ τιμιώτατα ὀνομάζοντες ἀπλή-
 στως εἶχον ἀσπασμῶν τε τοῦ ἀνδρὸς καὶ τῶν
 ἄλλων φιλοφρονήσεων.³ ἐν δὲ τούτῳ καὶ ἡ ἄλλη
 τῶν Ῥωμαίων φάλαγξ ἅμα τοῖς ὑπάτοις ἀπὸ⁴
 τῆς διώξεως ἀνέστρεφεν ἐπὶ τὸν ἑαυτῆς χάρακα

XLVII. Μέσαι τ' ἡδῆ νύκτες ἦσαν, καὶ ὁ Σίκκιος
 μνησικακῶν τοῖς ὑπάτοις τῆς ἐπὶ τὸν θάνατον ἀπο-
 στολῆς εἰς νοῦν βάλλεται τὴν δόξαν ἀφελέσθαι τοῦ
 κατορθώματος. κοινωσάμενος δὲ τοῖς ἀμφ' αὐτὸν

¹ ἐγένετο B ἐγένετο A

² τοὺς added by Sylburg.

³ φιλοφρονήσεων Cobet : φιλοφρονήσεων ἡδονάς O ; καὶ τῆς ἐκ
 τῶν ἄλλων φιλοφρονήσεων ἡδονῆς Reiske.

holding on to their aims Siccus and his men slew all of them they overtook, and after possessing themselves of their camp, marched against those who were in the plain. The Aequians, perceiving from the flight and outcries of their men that their camp had been taken, and then, not long afterwards, seeing the enemy falling upon their rear, no longer displayed any valour, but broke their ranks and endeavoured to save themselves, some by one way and some by another. And here they met with their greatest loss of life, for the Romans did not give over the pursuit till night, killing all whom they captured. The man who slew the largest number of them and performed the most brilliant deeds was Siccus, who, when he saw that the enemy's resistance was at an end, it being now dark, returned with his cohort to the camp which they had taken, filled with great joy and much exultation. All his men, safe and uninjured, having not only suffered none of the calamities they had expected, but also won the greatest glory, called him their father, their preserver, their god, and every other honourable appellation, and could not sate themselves with embracing him and showing every other mark of affection. In the meantime the rest of the Roman army with the consuls was returning from the pursuit to their camp.

XLVII It was now midnight when Siccus, full of resentment against the consuls for having sent him to his death, resolved to take from them the glory of the victory; and having communicated his intention

⁴ ἀπὸ Steph, ἐκ Kayser : om. AB.

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ἦν εἶχε διάνοιαν, ἐπειδὴ πᾶσιν ὀρθῶς¹ ἐφαίνετο, καὶ
 οὐθὲς ἦν ὃς οὐκ ἐθαύμαζε τῆς τε φρονήσεως καὶ
 τῆς τόλμης τὸν ἄνδρα, λαβὼν τὰ ὄπλα καὶ τοὺς
 ἄλλους κελεύσας ἀναλαβεῖν, πρῶτον μὲν² ἀνθρώ-
 πους ὅσους ἐν τῷ χάρακι κατέλαβε τῶν Αἰκανῶν
 καὶ ἵππους καὶ τᾶλλα ὑποζύγια κατέκοψεν ἔπειτα
 ὑφῆψε τὰς σκηναὺς ὀπλων τε καὶ σίτου καὶ ἐσθῆτος
 καὶ τῶν εἰς τὸν πόλεμον ἐπιτηδείων γεμούσας τῶν
 τε ἄλλων χρημάτων ὧν ἐκ τῆς Τυσκλανῶν λείας
 2 ἐπήγοντο πολλῶν πάνυ ὄντων. ὥς δὲ ἅπαντα ὑπὸ
 τοῦ πυρὸς ἠφάνιστο, περὶ τὸν ὄρθρον ἀπῆει φέρων
 οὐθὲν ὅτι μὴ τὰ ὄπλα, καὶ διανύσας σπουδῇ τὴν
 ὁδὸν εἰς Ῥώμην παρῆν ὥς δ' ὥφθησαν ἄνθρωποι
 καθωπλισμένοι παιανίζοντές τε καὶ σπουδῇ χω-
 ροῦντες αἷματι πολλῷ πεφυρμένοι, δρόμος ἐγίνετο
 καὶ πολλή προθυμία τῶν βουλομένων ἰδεῖν τ' αὐτοὺς
 3 καὶ τὰ πραχθέντα ἀκοῦσαι. οἱ δὲ μέχρις ἀγορᾶς
 ἐλθόντες ἐδήλωσαν τοῖς δημάρχοις τὰ γενόμενα,
 κακεῖνοι συναγαγόντες ἐκκλησίαν³ ἐκέλευον αὐτοὺς
 πρὸς ἅπαντας λέγειν. ὄχλου δὲ πολλοῦ συναχθέντος
 παρελθὼν ὁ Σίκκιος τὴν τε νίκην αὐτοῖς ἐδήλωσε
 καὶ τὸν τρόπον τοῦ ἀγῶνος ἐνεφάνισε, καὶ ὅτι παρὰ
 τὴν ἰδίαν ἀρετὴν καὶ τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ πρεσβυτέρων
 ἀνδρῶν ὀκτακοσίων, οὓς ἀποθανομένους ἀπέστει-
 λαν οἱ ὑπατοί, ὃ τε χάραξ ὁ τῶν Αἰκανῶν ἐλήφθη
 καὶ ἡ δύναμις ἡ⁴ παραταξαμένη τοῖς ὑπάτοις ἠναγ-
 4 κάσθη φυγεῖν· ἡξίου τε αὐτοὺς μηδενὶ τῆς νίκης
 ἐτέρῳ τὴν χάριν εἰδέναι καὶ τελευτῶν ἔτι προσέθη-
 κεν ἐκείνον τὸν λόγον, ὅτι “ τὰς ψυχὰς καὶ τὰ
 ὄπλα σώζοντες ἤκομεν, ἄλλο δὲ οὐδὲν τῶν κε-
 κρατημένων οὔτε μείζον οὔτ' ἔλαττον ἐξενεγκάμε-

to his companions and received their approval, every one of them admiring the sagacity and daring of the man, he took his arms and ordering the rest to do the same, he first slaughtered all the Aequians he found in the camp, as well as the horses and beasts of burden, then he set fire to the tents, which were full of arms, corn, apparel, warlike stores and all the other articles, very many in number, which they were carrying off as part of the Tusculan booty. After everything had been consumed by the flames, he left the camp about break of day, carrying with him nothing but his arms. and after a hurried march came to Rome. As soon as armed men were seen singing paeans of victory and marching in haste, all covered with blood, the people flocked to them, earnestly desiring both to see them and to hear their exploits. When they had come as far as the Forum, they gave an account to the tribunes of what had passed; and those magistrates, calling an assembly, ordered them to tell their story to all. When a large crowd had gathered, Siccius came forward and not only announced to them the victory, but also described the nature of the battle, showing that by his own valour and that of the eight hundred veterans with him, whom the consuls had sent to be slain, the camp of the Aequians had been taken and the army arrayed against the consuls had been put to flight. He asked them to give thanks for the victory to no one else, and ended by adding these words: "We have come with our lives and our arms safe, but have brought with us nothing else, great or small, of

¹ ὀρθῶς om. B. Retaining ὀρθῶς, Reiske added βεβουλευσθαι after ἐφαίνετο, Kayser ἔχειν before ἐφαίνετο.

² μὲν om. AB. ³ ἐκκλησίαν R. . εἰς ἐκκλησίαν B.

⁴ ἡ Steph. . om. AB.

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5 νοι.” ὁ δὲ δῆμος ἀκούσας τὸν λόγον εἰς οἰκτόν τε καὶ δάκρυα προὔπεσεν ὁρῶν μὲν τὰς ἡλικίας τῶν ἀνδρῶν, ἐνθυμούμενος δὲ τὰς ἀρετάς, ἀγανακτῶν δὲ καὶ νεμεσῶν τοῖς ἐπιβαλομένοις τοιούτων ἀνδρῶν ἐρημῶσαι τὴν πόλιν. ἐγεγόνει δέ, ὃ προὔλαβεν ὁ Σίκκιος, μῖσος εἰς τοὺς ὑπάτους ἐξ ἀπάντων τῶν
6 πολιτῶν. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἡ βουλὴ τὸ πρᾶγμα μετρίως ἤνεγκεν, ἡ οὐτ’ ἐψηφίσατο αὐτοῖς πομπὴν θριάμβων οὔτε ἄλλο τι τῶν ἐπὶ καλοῖς ἀγῶσι γινομένων. τὸν μέντοι Σίκκιον ὁ δῆμος, ἐπειδὴ καθῆκεν ὁ τῶν ἀρχαιρεσιῶν καιρός, δήμαρχον ἀπέδειξεν, ἧς κύριος ἦν τιμῆς ἀποδιδούς. καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐπιφανέστατα τῶν τότεπραχθέντων τοιάδ’ ἦν.

XLVIII. Ἐν δὲ τῷ μετὰ τούτους τοὺς ὑπάτους¹ ἔτει Σπόριος Ταρπήιος καὶ Αὔλος Τερμήνιος παραλαμβάνουσι τὴν ἀρχήν· οἱ τὰ τ’ ἄλλα θεραπεύοντες τὸν δῆμον διετέλεσαν καὶ τὸ τῶν δημάρχων² δόγμα προεβούλευσαν, ἐπειδὴ πλέον μὲν οὐδὲν ἑώρων τοῖς πατρικίοις γινόμενον ἐκ τοῦ κωλύειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ φθόνον καὶ μῖσος καὶ βλάβας δὲ ἰδίας καὶ συμφορὰς
2 τοῖς προθυμότατα ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἀγωνιζομένοις. μάλιστα δ’ αὐτοὺς εἰς δέος ἤγαγεν ἡ τῶν ὑπατευσάντων τὸν παρελθόντα ἐνιαυτὸν συμφορὰ νεωστὶ γενομένη δεινὰ μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου παθόντων, οὐδεμίαν δὲ παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς εὐρομένων βοήθειαν. Σίκκιος μὲν γὰρ ὁ τὸν Αἰκανῶν στρατὸν αὐτῷ χάρακι ἀράμενος δήμαρχος τότε³ ἀποδειχθεὶς, ὥσπερ ἔφην, τῇ πρώτῃ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἡμέρᾳ θύσας εἰσιτήρια³

¹ τοὺς ὑπάτους om A

² τὸ τῶν δημάρχων Lapus (in his translation) · τὸ περὶ τῶν δ O, Jacoby, τὸ παρὰ τῶν δ Niebuhr, τὸ περὶ τῶν ἀρχῶν Sylburg

³ εἰσιτήρια Reiske : σωτήρια O.

the things we captured.” The populace, upon hearing this, burst into compassion and tears, as they observed the age of the men and recalled their deeds of valour ; and they were filled with resentment and indignation against those who had attempted to deprive the commonwealth of such men. For his report, as Siccus foresaw, had drawn upon the consuls the hatred of all the citizens. Indeed, not even the senate took the matter lightly ; for it voted them neither a triumph nor any of the other honours usually bestowed for glorious engagements. As for Siccus, however, when the time for the elections came, the populace made him tribune, granting him the honour of which they had the disposal. These were the most important of the events at that time.

XLVIII. These consuls¹ were succeeded the following year by Spurius Tarpeius and Aulus Terminus, who constantly courted the populace in all matters and in particular secured the preliminary decree of the senate for the measure of the tribunes, for they saw that the patricians reaped no advantage from their opposition, but, on the contrary, that the most zealous champions of their cause drew upon themselves envy and hatred, as well as private losses and calamities. But they were chiefly alarmed by the recent misfortune of the consuls of the preceding year, who had been severely treated by the populace and had been unable to get any help from the senate. For Siccus, who had destroyed the army of the Aequians, camp and all, and had now been made a tribune, as I stated, on the very first day of his magis-

¹ For chaps 48-52 *cf.* Livy III 31, 5-8. The name of the second consul should probably be Aternius (the MSS. of Livy give Aeternius)

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κατὰ νόμον, πρὶν ὅτιοῦν ἄλλο διαπράξασθαι τῶν κοινῶν, προεῖπεν ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ Τίτον Ῥωμίλιον ἦκειν ἀπολογησόμενον ἀδικήματος δημοσίου δίκην ἐπὶ δικαστῇ τῷ δήμῳ, τὸν χρόνον ἀποδείξας τοῦ
 3 ἀγῶνος. Λεύκιος δὲ τότε ἄγορανομῶν, δήμαρχος δὲ τῷ παρελθόντι ἔτει γεγονώς, τὸν ἕτερον τῶν περυσινῶν ὑπάτων Γάιον Οὐετούριον εἰς ὁμοίαν δίκην προσεκαλέσατο ¹ πολλῆς δὲ γενομένης ἐν τῷ μεταξὺ τοῦ ἀγῶνος χρόνῳ σπουδῆς τε καὶ παρακλήσεως ἀμφοτέρων οἱ μὲν ὑπόδικοι πολλὰς ἐλπίδας εἶχον ἐπὶ τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τὸ κινδύνευμα ἐν ἐλαφρῷ ἐποιοῦντο, ὑπισχνουμένων αὐτοῖς πρεσβυτέρων τε
 4 καὶ νέων οὐκ ἑάσειν τὸν ἀγῶνα ἐπιτελεσθῆναι. οἱ δὲ δήμαρχοι πάντα ἐκ πολλοῦ φυλαττόμενοι καὶ οὔτε δεήσεις οὔτε ἀπειλὰς οὔτε κίνδυνον οὐδένα ὑπολογιζόμενοι, ἐπειδὴ καθῆκεν ὁ τοῦ ἀγῶνος καιρός,² ἐκάλουν τὸν δῆμον· ἦν δὲ παλαιότερον ἔτι συνερρηκῶς ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν ὁ χερνῆτης καὶ αὐτουργὸς ὄχλος, καὶ προσνεμηθεὶς τῷ κατὰ πόλιν τήν τε ἀγορὰν ἐνέπλησε καὶ τοὺς φέροντας εἰς αὐτὴν στενωπούς.

XLIX. Πρώτῃ μὲν οὖν εἰσῆλθεν ἡ κατὰ Ῥωμίλιου δίκη καὶ παρελθὼν ὁ Σίκκιος τὰ τε ἄλλα κατηγόρει τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ὅσα ὑπατεύων βία εἰς τοὺς δημάρχους ἔδοξε διαπράξασθαι, καὶ τελευτῶν τὴν ἐπιβουλήν διεξῆει τὴν ἐφ' ἑαυτῷ τε καὶ τῇ σπεύρα γενομένην ὑπὸ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ· καὶ παρείχετο αὐτῶν μάρτυρας τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους τῶν συστρατευσαμένων, οὐ δημοτικούς μόνους,³ ἀλλὰ καὶ⁴ πατρι-

¹ Reiske . προεκαλέσατο Ο

² καιρός A : χρόνος B.

³ μόνους (or μόνον) added by Cary.

⁴ καὶ AB : om R.(²)

tracy, after offering the usual inaugural sacrifices and before transacting any other public business, had in a meeting of the assembly cited Titus Romilius to appear before the tribunal of the populace to make his defence against a charge of injuring the state ; and he had set a day for his trial. And Lucius,¹ who was then aedile and had been tribune the year before, had summoned Gaius Veturius, the other consul of the preceding year, to a similar trial. During the interval before the trial much partisan zeal and encouragement were shown to both of the accused, and they accordingly placed great hopes in the senate and made light of the danger, as both the older and younger senators promised them that they would not allow the trial to be carried out. But the tribunes, who had long been providing against all contingencies and paid no heed to either entreaties, threats or any danger, when the time for the trial came, called a meeting of the popular assembly. Even before this the crowd of day-labourers and husbandmen had flocked in from the country and, being added to the city throng, filled not only the Forum, but all the streets that led to it.

XLIX The first trial to be held was that of Romilius Siccus, coming forward, charged him with all the acts of violence he was reputed to have committed against the tribunes while he was consul, and then at the end related the plot which the general had formed against him and his cohort. He produced as witnesses to support his charges the most prominent men who had served with him in the campaign, not plebeians alone,² but patricians as well. Among

¹ Probably the man called L. Alfenus by Livy (III. 31, 5).

² See crit. note, the Icili (§ 4) were plebeians.

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- κίους· ἐν οἷς ἦν νεανίας οὐκ ἀφανὴς οὔτε κατὰ γένους ἀξίωσιν οὔτε κατὰ τὴν ἰδίαν ἀρετὴν καὶ τὰ πολέμια πάννυ ἀγαθός· Σπόριος Οὐεργίνιος ἦν ὄνομα αὐτῷ.
- ² οὗτος ἔφη Μάρκον Ἰκίλλιον, ἐνὸς τῶν ἐκ τῆς Σικκίου σπείρας υἱόν, ἡλικιώτην αὐτοῦ καὶ φίλον ἀπολυθῆναι τῆς ἐξόδου βουλευθείς, ὥς ἐπὶ θάνατον ἐξιόντα μετὰ τοῦ πατρός, Αὔλον Οὐεργίνιον τὸν ἑαυτοῦ θεῖον, πρεσβευτὴν τότε συστρατευόμενον, παρακαλέσας ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ τοὺς ὑπάτους, ἀξιῶν σφίσι
- ³ ταύτην δοθῆναι τὴν χάριν· ἀντιλεγόντων δὲ τῶν ὑπάτων, ἑαυτῷ μὲν ἐπελθεῖν δάκρυα τὴν συμφορὰν τοῦ¹ ἐταίρου προανακλαιομένῳ, τὸν δὲ νεανίαν, ὑπὲρ οὗ τὰς δεήσεις ἐποιεῖτο, πεπυσμένον ταῦτα ἐλθεῖν καὶ λόγον αἰτησάμενον εἰπεῖν ὅτι τοῖς μὲν δεομένοις πολλὴν οἶδε χάριν, αὐτὸς δ' οὐκ ἂν ἀγαπήσειεν² τυχὼν χάριτος ἣτις αὐτὸν ἀφελεῖται τὸ πρὸς τὸ γένος εὐσεβές, οὐδ' ἂν ἀπολειφθεῖη τοῦ πατρός, τοσῶδε μᾶλλον ὅσω γ' ἀποθανοῦμενος ἔρχεται,³ καὶ πάντες τοῦτο ἴσασιν· ἀλλὰ συνεξιών ἐπαμυνεῖ τε,⁴ ὅσα δύναται, καὶ τῆς αὐτῆς ἐκείνῳ⁵
- ⁴ κοινωνὸς ἔσται τύχης ταῦτα τοῦ μεираκίου μαρτυρήσαντος οὐδεὶς ἦν ὃς οὐκ ἔπασché τι πρὸς τὴν τύχην τῶν ἀνθρώπων. ὥς δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ κληθέντες ἐπὶ τὴν μαρτυρίαν παρήλθον ὃ τε πατήρ Ἰκίλλιος καὶ τὸ μεираκίον καὶ τὸ καθ' ἑαυτοὺς⁶ ἔλεξαν, οὐκέτι κατέχειν τὰ δάκρυα οἱ πλείους ἐδύναντο
- ⁵ τῶν δημοτικῶν ἀπολογηθέντος δὲ τοῦ Ῥωμιλίου καὶ διελθόντος λόγον οὔτε θεραπευτικὸν οὔτε ἀρ-

¹ τοῦ AB : τὴν R, τὴν τοῦ Kruger, Jacoby

² Sylburg . ἀγαπήσειν AB.

³ Cobet : οἴχεται O

⁴ ἐπαμυνεῖ τε Cobet · ἐπαμυνεῖται O.

them there was a youth distinguished both for the rank of his family and for his own merit, and a most valiant soldier. His name was Spurius Verginius. This youth related that, desiring to get Marcus Icilius, the son of one of the men in the cohort of Siccus, a youth of his own age and his friend, released from that expedition, since he believed that he with his father would be going out to his death, he had summoned Aulus Verginius, his uncle, who was a legate on that campaign, and with him had gone to the consuls asking that this favour be granted to them. And when the consuls refused, he said that he himself had wept and lamented in advance the misfortune of his friend, but that the young man for whom he had interceded, being informed of this, went to the consuls, and asking leave to speak, said that, while he was very grateful to those who were interceding for him, he would not be content to accept a favour that would deprive him of the opportunity of showing his filial devotion, and that he would not desert his father, particularly when the other was going to his death, as everyone knew, but that he would go out with him, defend him to the utmost of his power and share the same fortune with him. After the young man had given this testimony, there was not a single person who did not feel some emotion at the fate of those men. And when the Icili themselves, father and son, were called as witnesses and gave an account of their experience, most of the plebeians could no longer refrain from tears. Then, when Romulus made his defence and delivered a speech that was neither deferential nor suited to

⁵ αὐτῆς ἐκείνῳ Reiske · αὐτῶν ἐκείνων O
⁶ αὐτοῦς B

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μόττοντα τοῖς καιροῖς, ἀλλ' ὑψηλὸν καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ
 ἀνυπευθύνῳ τῆς ἀρχῆς μέγα φρονούντα, διπλασίως
 ἐπερρώσθησαν¹ εἰς τὴν κατ' αὐτοῦ ὀργὴν οἱ πολ-
 λοί² καὶ γενόμενοι τῶν ψήφων κύριοι κατέγνωσαν
 ἀδικεῖν οὕτω σαφῶς³ ὥστε πάσαις ταῖς ψήφοις
 τῶν φυλῶν ἀλῶναι τὸν ἄνδρα ἣν δὲ τὸ τίμημα τῆς
 6 δίκης ἀργυρικόν, ἀσσάρια μυρία. καὶ τοῦτο οὐκ
 ἄνευ προνοίας τινὸς ὁ Σίικκιος ποιῆσαί μοι δοκεῖ,
 ἀλλ' ἵνα τοῖς τε πατρικίοις ἐλάττων ἢ περὶ τοῦ
 ἀνδρὸς σπουδὴ γένηται, καὶ μηδὲν ἐξαμάρτωσι περὶ
 τὴν ψηφοφορίαν, ἐνθυμηθέντες ὅτι εἰς ἀργύριον
 ζημιώσεται ὁ ἀλοὺς καὶ εἰς οὐδὲν ἕτερον, καὶ τοῖς
 δημοτικοῖς ἢ πρὸς τὴν τιμωρίαν ὁρμὴ προθυμοτέρα
 μήτε ψυχῆς ἄνδρα ὑπατικὸν μήτε πατρίδος ἀπο-
 στεροῦσιν. Ῥωμιλίου δὲ καταδικασθέντος οὐ πολ-
 λαῖς ὕστερον ἡμέραις καὶ Οὐετούριος ἐάλω· τίμημα
 δὲ καὶ ἐκείνῳ ἐπεγέγραπτο ἀργυρικόν, ἡμιόλιον
 θατέρου.

L. Ταῦτα δὴ λογιζομένοις τοῖς ἐν ἀρχῇ ὑπάτοις
 πολὺ παρέστη δέος καὶ τοῦ μὴ ταῦτα παθεῖν ὑπὸ
 τοῦ δήμου μετὰ τὴν ὑπατείαν πρόνοια, ὥστ' οὐκέτι
 ἀποκρυπτόμενοι τὰς γνώμας, ἀλλὰ φανερώς τὰ τοῦ
 δήμου πολιτευόμενοι διετέλουν πρῶτον μὲν οὖν
 ἐπὶ τῆς λοχίτιδος ἐκκλησίας νόμον ἐκύρωσαν ἵνα
 ταῖς ἀρχαῖς ἐξῇ πάσαις τοὺς ἀκοσμοῦντας ἢ παρα-
 νομοῦντας εἰς τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἐξουσίαν ζημιοῦν τέως
 γὰρ οὐχ ἅπασιν ἐξῇ, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ὑπάτοις μόνοις.⁴

¹ ἔτι before ἐπερρώσθησαν deleted by Cobet

² πολλοί Kiessling : πολῖται O, Jacoby.

³ οὕτω σαφῶς Capps οὕτως O, Jacoby.

⁴ μόνοις om AB.

the occasion, but haughty and boastful of the irresponsible power of his magistracy, the majority¹ were doubly confirmed in their resentment against him. And upon being permitted to give their votes, they found him so clearly guilty that he was condemned by the votes of all the tribes. The punishment in his case was a fine, amounting to 10,000 *asses*. Siccus, now, did not do this,² it seems to me, without some purpose, but to the end that the patricians, on the one hand, might be less zealous in Romilius' behalf and might commit no irregularities in connexion with the voting when they reflected that the condemned man would be punished with nothing more than a fine, and that the plebeians, on their side, might be the more eager for punishment when they were not going to deprive an ex-consul of either his life or his country. A few days after the condemnation of Romilius, Veturius was likewise condemned; his punishment was also set down in the indictment as a fine, one-half as much again as the other.

L As they thought about these trials the consuls then in office were in no little fear, and they took good care to avoid suffering the same fate at the hands of the populace after the expiration of their consulship, hence they no longer concealed their purposes but openly directed all their measures in the interest of the populace. First, then, they got a law ratified by the centuriate assembly permitting all the magistrates to fine any persons who were guilty of disrespectful conduct or illegal attempts against their authority. For until then none but the consuls pos-

¹ This is Kiessling's emendation. the MSS. read "citizens."

² *i. e.* set down the penalty he did in the indictment.

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2 τὸ μέντοι τίμημα οὐκ ἐπὶ τοῖς¹ ζημιούσιν, ὅποσον εἶναι δεῖ, κατέλιπον, ἀλλ' αὐτοὶ τὴν ἀξίαν ὤρισαν, μέγιστον ἀποδείξαντες ὅρον ζημίας δύο βοῦς² καὶ τριάκοντα πρόβατα. καὶ οὗτος ὁ νόμος ἄχρι πολ-
3 λου διέμενεν ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων φυλαττόμενος. ἔπειτα περὶ τῶν νόμων οὓς ἐσπούδαζον οἱ δήμαρχοι κοι-
νοὺς ἐπὶ πᾶσι Ῥωμαίοις γράφειν³ καὶ εἰς ἅπαντα χρόνον φυλαχθησομένους διάγνωσιν ἀπέδωκαν τῇ βουλῇ. ἐλέχθησαν μὲν οὖν πολλοὶ τε καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν κρατίστων ἀνδρῶν εἰς ἀμφοτέρα καὶ τὸ συγχωρεῖν καὶ τὸ κωλύειν φέροντες λόγοι, ἐνῖκα δ' ἡ τὰ δημο-
τικώτερα πρὸ τῶν ὀλιγαρχικῶν εἰσάγουσα Τίτου Ῥωμιλίου γνώμη, παρὰ τὴν ἀπάντων δόξαν τῶν
4 τε πατρικίων καὶ τῶν δημοτικῶν γενομένη οἱ μὲν γὰρ ὑπελάμβανον πάντα τὰ ἐναντία τοῖς δημοτικοῖς φρονήσειν τε καὶ λέξειν τὸν ἄνδρα νεωστὶ τὴν ἐν τῷ δήμῳ δίκην ἐαλωκότα ὁ δ' ἀναστὰς ἐπειδὴ προσῆκεν αὐτῷ⁴ γνώμην ἐρωτηθέντι κατὰ τὴν εἰ-
σοῦ τάξιν ἀποκρίνασθαι (ἦν δὲ ἐν τοῖς διὰ μέσου κατὰ τε ἀξίωσιν καὶ ἡλικίαν) ἔλεξεν

LI “ Ἄ μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου πέπονθα, ὦ βουλή, καὶ ὅτι οὐδὲν ἀδικῶν, ἀλλὰ τῆς πρὸς ὑμᾶς εὐνοίας ἔνεκα,⁵ φορτικός ἂν εἶην⁶ ἐν εἰδόσιν⁷ ἀκριβῶς λέ-
γων· μνήμην δὲ αὐτῶν ποιοῦμαι τοῦ ἀναγκαίου ἔνεκεν,⁸ ἵν' εἰδῇτε ὅτι οὐ κολακεία τοῦ δημοτικοῦ ἐπιτρέψας ἐχθροῦ μοι ὄντος, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τοῦ βελτίσ-

¹ ἐπὶ τοῖς Kiessling, ἐπ' αὐτοῖς τοῖς Reiske ἐπ' αὐτοῖς AB.

² Jacoby : βόας O

³ γράφειν AB · γραφῆναι R

⁴ Sylburg ἐαυτῷ O ⁵ ἔνεκα B : χάριν A.

⁶ εἶην B εἶην ἔγωγε R(?)

⁷ εἰδόσιν Hudson · εἰδόσιν ὑμῖν O

⁸ ἔνεκεν Bb · ἔνεκα R.

sessed this power. They did not leave the amount of the fine, however, to the discretion of those who should impose it, but limited the sum themselves, making the maximum fine two oxen and thirty sheep. This law long continued in force among the Romans. In the next place, they referred to the consideration of the senate the laws which the tribunes pressed to have drawn up, that should bind all the Romans alike and be observed forever. Many speeches were made on both sides by the best men, some tending to persuade the senate to grant the request and some to oppose it. But the opinion that prevailed was that of Titus Romilius, which supported the interest of the populace against that of the oligarchy, contrary to the expectation of everybody, both patricians and plebeians. For they supposed that a man who had recently been condemned by the populace would both think and say everything that was opposed to the plebeians. But he, when it was the proper time for him to speak, that is, when he was called upon to deliver his opinion in his turn—he was of the middle rank in point of both dignity and age—rose up and said.

LI. “I should be wearisome to you, senators, if I related what I have suffered at the hands of the populace and showed that it is not because of any wrongdoing on my part but because of my attachment to you, when you yourselves know the facts so well. I am forced, however, to mention these matters in order that you may know that in what I am going to say I am not condescending to flattery of the populace, which is hostile to me, but stating from the best of motives what is to the advantage of the common-

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του τὰ συμφέροντα ἐρώ: θαυμάσῃ δὲ μηθεὶς εἰ
 πρότερόν τε πολλάκις καὶ ἡνίκα ὕπατος ἦν τῆς
 ἐτέρας¹ προαιρέσεως γενόμενος νῦν ἐξαίφνης μετα-
 βέβληται· μηδὲ ὑπολάβητε δυεῖν θάτερον ἢ τότε
 βεβουλευσθαι με κακῶς ἢ νῦν ἀνατίθεται τὰ δό-
 2 ξαντα οὐκ ὀρθῶς. ἐγὼ γάρ, ὦ βουλή, ὅσον μὲν
 χρόνον τὰ ὑμέτερα ἰσχυρὰ ἡγούμην, ὥσπερ ἐχρῆν
 ἀριστοκρατίαν αὖξων περιεφρόνουν τὸ δημοτικόν,
 ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῖς ἐμαυτοῦ σωφρονισθεὶς κακοῖς μετὰ
 μεγάλων μισθῶν ἔμαθον ὅτι ἔλαττον ὑμῶν ἐστι τοῦ
 βουλομένου τὸ δυνάμενον, καὶ πολλοὺς ἤδη τὸν
 ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἀγῶνα αἰρομένους² περιείδετε ἀναρπασ-
 θέντας ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου τοῖς ἀναγκαίοις ἐξάντες,
 3 οὐκέθ' ὅμοια ἔγνωκα. ἐβουλόμην δ' ἂν μάλιστα
 μὲν³ μήτ' ἐμαυτῷ συμβῆναι μήτε τῷ συνάρχοντί
 μου ταῦτα ἐφ' οἷς ἅπαντες ἡμῖν⁴ συμπαθεῖτε.
 ἐπειδὴ δὲ τὰ μὲν καθ' ἡμᾶς τέλος ἔχει, τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ
 ἔξεστιν ἐπανορθώσασθαι καὶ τοῦ μὴ παθεῖν ταῦτα⁵
 ἐτέρους προιδέσθαι, καὶ κοινῇ καὶ καθ' ἓνα ἕκαστον
 ἰδίᾳ τὰ παρόντα εὖ τίθεται παρακαλῶ. κράτιστα
 γὰρ οἰκεῖται πόλις ἢ πρὸς τὰ πράγματα μεθαρμοτ-
 τομένη, καὶ συμβούλων ἄριστος ὁ μὴ πρὸς τὴν ἰδίαν
 ἔχθραν ἢ χάριν, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸ κοινῇ συμφέρον ἀπο-
 δεικνύμενος γνώμην· βουλευόνται τ' ἄριστα περὶ
 τῶν μελλόντων οἱ παραδείγματα ποιούμενοι τὰ
 4 γεγονότα τῶν ἐσομένων ὑμῖν δ', ὦ βουλή, ὅσάκις
 ἐνέστη τις ἀμφισβήτησις καὶ φιλονεικία πρὸς τὸν
 δῆμον, αἰεὶ τι μειονεκτεῖν ἐξεγένετο, τὸ μὲν ἀκούειν⁶

¹ ἀπὸ τοῦ βελτίστου . . . τῆς ἐτέρας om. A

² αἰρομένους Jacoby, ἀραμένους Sylburg . αἰρουμένους O.

³ μὲν added by Cobet

⁴ ἡμῖν B : ὑμεῖς A

⁵ ταῦτα R ταῦτα AB

wealth. Let no one wonder, if I, who was of a different opinion both earlier upon many occasions and when I was consul, have now suddenly changed ; and do not imagine either that my sentiments were then ill grounded or that I am now altering them without good reason. For as long as I thought your party strong, senators, I exalted the aristocracy, as was my duty, and despised the plebeians ; but having been chastened by my own misfortunes and having learned at great cost that your power is less than your will and that, yielding to necessity, you have already permitted many who undertook the struggle in your behalf to be snatched away to destruction by the populace, I no longer entertain the same sentiments. I could have wished that, if possible, those misfortunes for which you all show your sympathy with us had not happened either to myself or to my colleague ; but since our misadventure is over and you have it in your power to correct what lies in the future and to see to it that others do not suffer the same misfortunes, I urge you, both all in common and each one by himself, to make good use of the present situation. For that state is best governed which adapts itself to circumstances, and that man is the best counsellor who expresses his opinion without regard to personal enmity or favour but with a view to the public advantage ; and those persons deliberate best concerning the future who take past events as examples of those that are to come. As for you, senators, it has happened that whenever a dispute or contention has arisen with the populace you have always come off at a disadvantage, sometimes having evil spoken of

⁶ τὸ μὲν ἀκούειν (the three words later erased) B : τὰ μὲν ἀκούειν A

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κακῶς,¹ τὸ δ'² εἰς ἀνδρῶν ἐπιφανῶν θανάτους τε καὶ ὕβρεις καὶ ἐκβολὰς ζημιωθῆναι. καίτοι τί γένοιτ' ἂν ἀτύχημα πόλει μείζον ἢ τοὺς κρατίστους τῶν ἀνδρῶν περικόπτεσθαι καὶ ταῦτα οὐ σὺν δίκῃ; ὦν³ ὑμῖν φεῖδεσθαι παραινῶ καὶ μήτε τοὺς νῦν ἄρχοντας προβαλόντας⁴ εἰς κίνδυνον πρόδηλον ἔπειτα ἐγκαταλιπόντας⁵ ἐν τοῖς δεινοῖς μετανοεῖν μήτε τῶν ἄλλων τινὰ οὐ τι καὶ μικρὸν ὄφελος τῷ
 5 κοινῷ. κεφάλαιον δ' ἐστὶν ὦν ὑμῖν παραινῶ, πρέσβεις ἐλέσθαι τοὺς μὲν εἰς τὰς Ἑλληνίδας πόλεις τὰς ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ, τοὺς δ' εἰς Ἀθήνας, οἵτινες αἰτησάμενοι παρὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων τοὺς κρατίστους νόμους καὶ μάλιστα τοῖς ἡμετέροις ἀρμόττοντας βίοις οἴσουσι δεῦρο. ἀφικομένων δ' αὐτῶν τοὺς τότε ὑπάτους προθεῖναι τῇ βουλῇ σκοπεῖν τίνας ἐλέσθαι δεῖσιν νομοθέτας καὶ ἥντινα ἔξοντας ἀρχὴν καὶ χρόνον ὅσον καὶ τᾶλλα, ὅπως ἂν αὐτῇ φαίνεται συνοίσειν, στασιάζειν δὲ μηκέτι πρὸς τὸ δημοτικὸν μηδ' ἄλλας ἐπ' ἄλλαις ἀναιρεῖσθαι συμφοράς, ἄλλως τε καὶ περὶ νόμων φιλονεικοῦντας οἳ κἂν εἰ μηθὲν ἄλλο τήν γέ τοι δόξαν τῆς ἀξιώσεως ἔχουσιν εὐπρεπῇ."

LII. Τοιαῦτα εἰπόντος τοῦ Ῥωμιλίου οἳ τε ὕπατοι συνελαμβάνοντο τῆς γνώμης ἀμφοτέρωι πολλὰ καὶ ἐκ παρασκευῆς συγκείμενα διεξιόντες, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων βουλευτῶν συχνοί, καὶ ἐγένοντο πλείους οἱ
 2 ταύτῃ προστιθέμενοι τῇ γνώμῃ. μέλλοντος δὲ γράφεσθαι τοῦ προβουλευματος ἀναστὰς ὁ δῆμαρχος Σίκκιος ὁ τῷ Ῥωμιλίῳ προθεὶς⁶ τὴν δίκην

¹ κακῶς added by Jacoby.

² τὸ δ' Jacoby · τὰ δὲ A, καὶ B.

³ σὺν δίκῃ, ὦν Reiske : συνδικῶν O

you and sometimes being punished by the death, the abuse and the banishment of illustrious men. And yet what greater misfortune could happen to a state than to have its best men lopped off, and that undeservedly? I advise you to spare these men and not to have to repent of first exposing to manifest danger and then deserting in the moment of peril either the present magistrates or anyone else who is of the slightest value to the commonwealth. The substance of my advice is that you choose ambassadors and send some of them to the Greek cities in Italy and others to Athens, to ask the Greeks for their best laws and such as are most suited to our ways of life, and then to bring these laws here. And when they return, that the consuls then in office shall propose for the consideration of the senate what men to choose as lawgivers, what magistracy they shall hold and for how long a time, and to determine everything else in such a manner as they shall think expedient; and that you contend no longer with the plebeians nor add calamities to your calamities, particularly by quarrelling over laws which, if nothing else, have at least a respectable reputation for dignity."

LII. After Romulus had spoken to this effect, both consuls supported his opinion in long and carefully prepared speeches, and so did many other senators, and those who espoused this opinion were in the majority. When the preliminary decree was about to be drawn up, the tribune Siccius, who had brought Romulus to trial, rising up, made a long

⁴ προβαλόντας Bb προβάλλοντας ABa.

⁵ ἐγκαταλείποντας Bb : ἐγκαταλείποντας Bb

⁶ προθεῖς R προσθεῖς AB, Jacoby

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πολὺν ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς διῆλθε λόγον ἐπαινῶν τὴν μεταβολὴν τῆς γνώμης καὶ τὸ μὴ τὰ ἴδια ἔχθῃ κρείττονα ἡγεῖσθαι¹ τῶν κοινῇ χρησίμων, ἀλλ' ἀπ' ὀρθῆς γνώμης τὰ συμφέροντα ἀποδείξασθαι²

3 “Ἄνθ' ὦν,” ἔφη, “ταύτην αὐτῷ ἀποδίδωμι τιμὴν καὶ χάριν· ἀφίημι τῶν ἐκτισμάτων ἐπὶ τῇ δίκῃ καὶ εἰς τὸ λοιπὸν διαλλάττομαι· νικᾷ γὰρ ἡμᾶς χρηστός ὢν.” τὸ δ' αὐτὸ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι δῆμαρχοι παριόντες ὡμολόγουν. οὐ μὲν ὅ γε Ῥωμίλιος ὑπέμεινε ταύτην λαβεῖν τὴν χάριν, ἀλλ' ἐπαινέσας τοὺς δημάρχους τῆς προθυμίας ἀποδώσειν ἔφη τὴν καταδίκην. ἱερὰν γὰρ ἤδη τῶν θεῶν εἶναι, καὶ οὔτε δίκαια οὔτε ὅσια ποιεῖν ἂν³ ἀποστερῶν τοὺς θεοὺς ἃ δίδωσιν

4 αὐτοῖς ὁ νόμος καὶ ἐποίησεν οὕτως γραφέντος δὲ τοῦ προβουλεύματος καὶ μετὰ ταύτ' ἐπικυρώσαντος τοῦ δήμου πρέσβεις ἀπεδείχθησαν οἱ τοὺς παρὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων νόμους ληψόμενοι, Σπόριος Ποστόμιος καὶ Σερούιος⁴ Σολπίκιος καὶ Αὐλὸς Μάλλιος· οἷς τριῆρεις τε παρεσκευάσθησαν ἐκ τοῦ δημοσίου καὶ ἄλλος κόσμος εἰς ἐπίδειξιν τῆς ἡγεμονίας ἀποχρῶν καὶ τὸ ἔτος ἐτελεύτα.

LIII. Ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς ὀγδοηκοστῆς καὶ δευτέρας ὀλυμπιάδος, ἣν ἐνίκα στάδιον Λύκος Θεσσαλὸς ἀπὸ Λαρίσης,⁵ ἄρχοντας Ἀθήνησι Χαιρεφάνους, ἐτῶν τριακοσίων ἐκπεπληρωμένων ἀπὸ τοῦ Ῥώμης συν-οικισμοῦ, Ποπλίου Ὀρατίου καὶ Σεξέτου Κοιντιλίου διαδεδεγμένων⁶ τὴν ὕπατον ἀρχήν, λοιμικὴ

¹ Sylburg . γίνεσθαι O, Jacoby

² ἀποδείξασθαι A : ὑποδείξασθαι B, ἐπιδείξασθαι R.

³ ποιεῖν ἂν Hertlein, ἂν ποιεῖν Cobet . ποιεῖν O, Jacoby.

⁴ Sylburg : σερουίλιος AB.

⁵ λαρίσης Ba : λαρίσης ABb

⁶ διαδεδεγμένων R . δεδεγμένων Bb.

speech in his behalf, praising him for changing his opinion and for not preferring his private grudges to the public good, but delivering with sincerity the advice that was advantageous. "In consideration of which," he said, "I offer him this honour and this favour. I remit the fine imposed on him at the trial and reconcile myself with him for the future. For he has overcome us by his probity." The rest of the tribunes came forward and made the same agreement. Romilius, however, would not consent to accept this favour, but having thanked the tribunes for their goodwill, he said he would pay the fine, because it was already consecrated to the gods and he should be doing something unjust and unholy if he deprived the gods of what the law gives them. And he acted accordingly. The preliminary decree having been drawn up and afterwards confirmed by the populace, the ambassadors who were to get the laws from the Greeks were chosen, namely, Spurius Postumius, Servius Sulpicius and Aulus Manlius, and they were furnished with triremes at the public expense and with such other appointments as were sufficient to display the dignity of the Roman empire. And thus the year ended.

LIII. In the eighty-second Olympiad ¹ (the one at which Lycus of Larissa in Thessaly won the foot-race), Chaerephanes being archon at Athens, when three hundred years were completed since the founding of Rome, and Publius Horatius and Sextus Quintilius had succeeded to the consulship, Rome was afflicted

¹ Cf. Livy III 32, 1-4. The year was 451. Livy gives the name of the first consul as P. Curiatius (Curatius in most MSS.).

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νόσος εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην κατέσκηψε μέγιστη τῶν ἐκ τοῦ προτέρου¹ χρόνου μνημονευομένων· ὅφ' ἧς οἱ μὲν θεράποντες ὀλίγου ἐδέξαντο πάντες² ἀπολέσθαι, τῶν δ' ἄλλων πολιτῶν ἀμφὶ τοὺς ἡμίσεις μάλιστα διεφθάρησαν, οὔτε τῶν ἱατρῶν ἀρκούντων ἔτι³ βοηθεῖν τοῖς καμάτοις οὔτε οἰκείων ἢ φίλων τὰναγκαῖα

2 ὑπηρετούντων. οἱ γὰρ ἐπικουρεῖν ταῖς ἐτέρων βουλόμενοι συμφοραῖς ἀπτόμενοί τε καματηρῶν σωμάτων καὶ συνδιαιτώμενοι τὰς αὐτὰς ἐκείνοις νόσους μετελάμβανον, ὥστε πολλὰς οἰκίας ἐξερημωθῆναι δι' ἀπορίαν τῶν ἐπιμελησομένων. ἦν τε οὐκ ἐλάχιστον τῶν κακῶν τῇ πόλει καὶ τοῦ μὴ ταχέως λωφῆσαι τὴν νόσον αἴτιον τὸ περὶ τὰς ἐκβολὰς τῶν

3 νεκρῶν γινόμενον. κατ' ἀρχὰς μὲν γὰρ ὑπὸ τε αἰσχύνῃς καὶ εὐπορίας⁴ τῶν πρὸς τὰς ταφὰς ἐπιτηδείων ἕκαστον τε καὶ γῇ παρεδίδουσαν τοὺς νεκρούς, τελευτῶντες δὲ οἱ μὲν ἀπ' ὀλιγωρίας τοῦ καλοῦ, οἱ δὲ τὰπιτηδεῖα οὐκ ἔχοντες πολλοὺς μὲν ἐν τοῖς ὑπονόμοις⁵ τῶν στενωπῶν φέροντες ἐρρίπτουν τῶν ἀπογενομένων,⁶ πολλῶ δ' ἔτι πλείους εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν ἐνέβαλλον· ἀφ' ὧν τὰ μέγιστα ἐκακοῦντο.

4 ἐκκυμαινομένων γὰρ⁷ πρὸς τὰς ἀκτὰς καὶ τὰς ἡϊόνας τῶν σωμάτων βαρεῖα καὶ δυσώδης προσπίπτουσα καὶ τοῖς ἔτι ἐρρωμένοις ἢ τοῦ πνεύματος ἀποφορὰ ταχείας ἔφερε τοῖς σώμασι τὰς τροπὰς, πίνεσθαί τε οὐκέτι χρηστὸν ἦν τὸ ἐκ τοῦ ποταμοῦ κομισθὲν ὕδωρ, τὰ μὲν ἀτοπία τῆς ὁσμῆς, τὰ δὲ τῷ πονηρὰς τὰς ἀναδόσεις ποιεῖν τῆς τροφῆς

¹ προτέρου R · πρότερον B.

³ ἔτι B : εἰς τὸ R

⁵ εἰς τοὺς ὑπονόμους

Portus, who also placed τῶν ἀπογενομένων after πολλοὺς μὲν

² Jacoby ἅπαντες O

⁴ Sylburg ἀπορίας O

with a pestilence more severe than any of those recorded from past time. Almost all the slaves were carried off by it and about one half of the citizens, as neither the physicians were able any longer to alleviate their sufferings nor did their servants and friends supply them with the necessities. For those who were willing to relieve the calamities of others, by touching the bodies of the diseased and continuing with them, contracted the same diseases, with the result that many entire households perished for want of people to attend the sick. Not the least of the evils the city suffered, and the reason why the pestilence did not quickly abate, was the way in which they cast out the dead bodies. For though at first, both from a sense of shame and because of the plenty they had of everything necessary for burials, they burned the bodies and committed them to the earth, at the last, either through a disregard of decency or from a lack of the necessary equipment, they threw many of the dead into the sewers under the streets and cast far more of them into the river, and from these they received the most harm. For when the bodies were cast up by the waves upon the banks and beaches, a grievous and terrible stench, carried by the wind, smote those also who were still in health and produced a quick change in their bodies; and the water brought from the river was no longer fit to drink, partly because of its vile odour and partly by causing

⁶ Kiessling . ἀπογινομένων O

⁷ ἐκκυμαιομένων γὰρ placed here by Cobet after ἡμόνας in the MSS. Jacoby retained the traditional order of words, punctuating after ἡμόνας. Post, likewise keeping the order unchanged, would punctuate after ἐκκυμαιομένων, and read ἀπὸ γὰρ τῶν σωμάτων

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5 καὶ οὐ μόνον ἐν τῇ πόλει τὰ δεινὰ ἦν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπὶ
 τῶν ἀγρῶν· καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα ὁ γεωργὸς ἐπόνησεν
 ὄχλος ἀναπιμπλάμενος, καὶ προβάτων καὶ τῶν
 ἄλλων τετραπόδων ἅμα διαιτωμένων, τῆς νόσου
 ὅσον μὲν οὖν χρόνον τοῖς πολλοῖς ἐλπίδος τι ὑπῆν
 ὡς τοῦ θεοῦ σφίσιν ἐπικουρήσοντος, ἅπαντες ἐπὶ
 τε θυσίας καὶ καθαρμούς ἐτράποντο καὶ πολλὰ
 ἐνεωτερίσθη Ῥωμαίοις οὐκ ὄντα ἐν ἔθει περὶ τὰς
 6 τιμὰς τῶν θεῶν ἐπιτηδεύματα οὐκ εὐπρεπῇ ἐπεὶ
 δὲ ἐπέγνωσαν οὐδεμίαν αὐτῶν ἐπιστροφὴν ἐκ τοῦ
 δαιμονίου γινομένην οὐδ' ἔλεον, καὶ τῆς περὶ τὰ
 θεῖα λειτουργίας ἀπέστησαν. ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ συμφορᾷ
 τῶν τε ὑπάτων ἄτερος ἀποθνήσκει, Σέξτος Κοιν-
 τίλιος,¹ καὶ ὁ μετὰ τοῦτον ἀποδειχθεὶς ὕπατος
 Σπόριος Φούριος, καὶ τῶν δημάρχων τέτταρες, τῶν
 7 τε βουλευτῶν πολλοὶ καὶ ἀγαθοί. ἐπεβάλοντο μὲν
 οὖν ἐν τῇ νόσῳ τῆς πόλεως οὔσης στρατὸν ἐξάγειν
 ἐπ' αὐτοὺς Αἰκανοὶ καὶ διεπρεσβεύοντο πρὸς τᾶλλα
 ἔθνη ὅσα Ῥωμαίοις πολέμια ἦν παρακαλοῦντες ἐπὶ
 τὸν πόλεμον οὐ μὴν ἔφθασάν γε προαγαγεῖν τὴν
 δύναμιν ἐκ τῶν πόλεων ἔτι γὰρ αὐτῶν παρασκευα-
 ζομένων ἢ αὐτὴ νόσος κατέσκηψεν εἰς τὰς πόλεις
 8 διήλθε δ' οὐ μόνον τὴν Αἰκανῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν
 Οὐολούσκων καὶ τὴν Σαβίνων γῆν, καὶ σφόδρα
 ἐκάκωσε τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐκ δὲ τούτου συνέβη
 καὶ τὴν χώραν ἀγεώργητον ἀφεθεῖσαν λιμὸν ἐπὶ τῷ
 λοιμῷ συνάψαι ἐπὶ μὲν δὴ τούτων τῶν ὑπάτων
 οὐδὲν ἐπράχθη Ῥωμαίοις διὰ τὰς νόσους οὔτε
 πολεμικὸν οὔτε πολιτικὸν εἰς ἱστορίας ἀφήγησιν
 ἐλθεῖν ἄξιον.

LIV. Εἰς δὲ τοῦπιόν ἔτος ὕπατοι μὲν ἀπεδείχ-

¹ Sylburg : κόντος A, κόντιος B.

indigestion. These calamities occurred not only in the city, but in the country as well ; in particular, the husbandmen were infected with the contagion, since they were constantly with their sheep and the other animals. As long as most people had any hopes that Heaven would assist them, they all had recourse to sacrifices and expiations ; and many innovations were then made by the Romans and unseemly practices not customary with them were introduced into the worship of the gods. But when they found that the gods showed no regard or compassion for them, they abandoned even the observance of religious rites. During this calamity Sextus Quintilius, one of the consuls, died ; also Spurius Furius, who had been appointed to succeed him, and likewise four of the tribunes and many worthy senators. While the city was afflicted by the pestilence, the Aequians undertook to lead out an army against the Romans ; and they sent envoys to all the other nations that were hostile to the Romans, urging them to make war. But they did not have time to lead their forces out of their cities ; for while they were still making their preparations, the same pestilence fell upon their cities. It spread not only over the country of the Aequians, but also over those of the Volscians and the Sabines, and grievously afflicted the inhabitants. In consequence, the land was left uncultivated and famine was added to the plague. Under these consuls, then, by reason of the pestilence nothing was done by the Romans, either in war or at home, worthy of being recorded in history.

LIV For the following year ¹ Lucius Menenius

¹ For chaps 54-56 *cf* Livy iii. 32, 5-33, 6

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θησαν Λεύκιος Μενήμιος καὶ Πόπλιος Σήστιος¹ ἡ δὲ νόσος εἰς τέλος ἐλώφησε. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο θυσίαι τε χαριστήριοι θεοῖς ἐπετελοῦντο δημοσίᾳ καὶ ἀγῶνες ἐπιφανεῖς λαμπραῖς πάνυ χορηγούμενοι δαπάναις, ἐν εὐπαθείαις τε καὶ θαλίαις ἢ πόλιν ἦν ὥσπερ εἰκός· καὶ πᾶς ὁ χειμέριος χρόνος ἀμφὶ
 2 ταῦτα ἐδαπανήθη. ἀρχομένου δ' ἔαρος σῖτός τε πολὺς καὶ² ἐκ πολλῶν ἤχθη³ χωρίων, ὁ μὲν πλείων δημοσίᾳ συνωνηθεῖς, ὁ δέ τις καὶ ὑπ' ἰδιωτῶν ἐμπόρων κομιζόμενος. ἔκαμνε γὰρ οὐχ ἡκιστα ἐν⁴ τῇ σπάνει τῆς τροφῆς ὁ λαὸς χέρσου τῆς γῆς ἀφειμένης διὰ τὰς νόσους καὶ τὸν ὀλεθρον τῶν γεωργῶν.

3 Ἐν δὲ τῷ αὐτῷ καιρῷ παρεγένοντο ἀπὸ τ' Ἀθη-
 νῶν καὶ τῶν ἐν Ἰταλοῖς Ἑλληνίδων πόλεων οἱ πρέσβεις φέροντες τοὺς νόμους. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο προσήεσαν οἱ δῆμαρχοι τοῖς ὑπάτοις ἀξιούντες ἀποδείξαι κατὰ τὸ ψήφισμα τῆς βουλῆς τοὺς νομο-
 θέτας. οἱ δ' οὐκ ἔχοντες ὅτῳ ἂν αὐτοὺς ἀπ-
 αλλάξειαν τρόπῳ προσκαθημένους καὶ λιπαροῦντας, ἀχθόμενοι τῷ πράγματι καὶ οὐκ ἀξιούντες ἐπὶ τῆς
 αὐτῶν ἀρχῆς⁵ καταλῦσαι τὴν ἀριστοκρατίαν, πρό-
 φασιν εὐπρεπῇ προὔβαλοντο, λέγοντες ἐν χερσὶν
 εἶναι τὸν τῶν ἀρχαιρεσίων καιρόν, καὶ δέον⁶ αὐτοὺς
 4 τοὺς⁷ ὑπάτους πρῶτον ἀποδείξαι, ποιήσιν⁸ τοῦτ'
 οὐκ εἰς μακράν, ἀποδειχθέντων δὲ τῶν ὑπάτων,
 μετ' ἐκείνων ἀνοίσειν⁹ τῷ συνεδρίῳ τὴν περὶ τῶν
 νομοθετῶν διάγνωσιν. συγχωρούντων δὲ τῶν δημ-
 άρχων προθέντες ἀρχαιρέσια πολλῷ τάχιον ἢ τοῖς

¹ σήστιος Bb . σίκκιος A.

³ κατήχθη Kiessling.

² καὶ B . om. R.

⁴ ἐπὶ Kiessling.

⁵ ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῶν ἀρχῆς B : om. R.

and Publius Sestius were chosen consuls; and the pestilence finally ceased. After that public sacrifices of thanksgiving were performed to the gods and magnificent games celebrated at great expense, and the people were engaged in rejoicings and festivals, as may be imagined. Indeed the whole winter season was thus spent. In the beginning of spring a large quantity of corn was brought in from many places; most of it was purchased with the public money, but some was imported by private merchants. For not least of the people's hardships was the dearth of provisions, the land having lain uncultivated by reason of the pestilence and the death of the husbandmen.

At the same time the ambassadors arrived from Athens and the Greek cities in Italy, bringing with them the laws. Thereupon the tribunes went to the consuls and asked them to appoint the lawgivers pursuant to the senate's decree. The consuls did not know how to get rid of their solicitations and importunities, but as they disliked the business and were unwilling for the aristocracy to be overthrown during their consulship, they resorted to a specious excuse, saying that the time for the election of magistrates was at hand and, as it was their duty first to name the new consuls, they would do so soon, and when these were appointed, they would in conjunction with them refer the matter of the lawgivers to the senate for its consideration. When the tribunes consented to this, they appointed the election much

⁶ δειν Kiessling.

⁷ τοὺς A : om. R

⁸ ποιήσιν Cary, ποιήσιν δὲ Reiske, ποιῆσαι δὲ Jacoby. ποιῆσεται δὲ A, ποιῆσαι τε B.

⁹ ἔλεγον before ἀνοίσειν deleted by Vassiss.

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προτέροις ἔθος ἦν ὑπάτους ἀπέδειξαν Ἄππιον
 Κλαύδιον καὶ Τίτον Γενύκιον,¹ καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο
 πᾶσαν ἀποθέμενοι τὴν περὶ τῶν κοινῶν φροντίδα,
 ὡς ἑτέρους ἤδη δέον ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν σκοπεῖν, οὐδὲν
 ἔτι τοῖς δημάρχοις προσεῖχον, ἀλλὰ διακλέψαι τὸν
 5 λοιπὸν χρόνον τῆς ὑπατείας διεννοοῦντο ἔτυχε δὲ
 τὸν ἕτερον αὐτῶν Μενήνιον ἀρρωστία τις κατα-
 λαβοῦσα χρόνιος ἤδη δέ τινες ἔφασαν ὑπὸ λύπης
 καὶ ἀθυμίας ἐμπεσοῦσαν² τῷ ἀνδρὶ τηκεδόνα δυσ-
 ἀπάλλακτον ἐργάσασθαι νόσον. ταύτην δὲ προσ-
 λαβὼν τὴν πρόφασιν ὁ Σήστιος ὡς οὐδὲν οἷός τ'
 ὦν³ πράττειν μόνος ἀπεωθεῖτο τὰς τῶν δημάρχων
 δεήσεις καὶ πρὸς τοὺς νέους ἄρχοντας ἡξίου τρέπε-
 6 σθαι. οἱ δ' οὐκ ἔχοντες ὅ τι πράττωσιν⁴ ἕτερον,
 ἐπὶ τοὺς περὶ τὸν Ἄππιον οὕτω τὴν ἐξουσίαν
 παρειληφότας ἠναγκάζοντο καταφεύγειν, τὰ μὲν ἐν
 ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις δεόμενοι, τὰ δὲ κατὰ μόνους συν-
 τυγχάνοντες⁵ καὶ τέλος ἐξεργάσαντο τοὺς ἄνδρας
 μεγάλας ὑποτείνοντες ἐλπίδας αὐτοῖς, εἰ τὰ τοῦ
 δήμου πράγματα ἔλουντο, τιμῆς καὶ δυναστείας
 7 εἰσῆλθε γάρ τις τὸν Ἄππιον ἐπιθυμία ξένην ἀρχὴν
 περιβαλέσθαι καὶ νόμους καταστήσασθαι τῇ πατρίδι,
 ὁμονοίας τε καὶ εἰρήνης καὶ τοῦ μίαν ἅπαντας
 ἡγεῖσθαι τὴν πόλιν ἄρξαι τοῖς συμπολιτευομένοις.
 οὐ μέντοι καὶ διέμεινέ γε χρηστὸς ἀρχῇ κοσμηθεὶς
 μεγάλη, ἀλλ' ἐξέπεσε τελευτῶν εἰς φιλαρχίαν
 ἀπαραχώρητον ὑπὸ μεγέθους ἐξουσίας διαφθαρεὶς

¹ Λεύκιον after Τίτον Γενύκιον deleted by Lapus.

² Sylburg ἐμπεσοῦσης O, Jacoby.

³ Reiske : ἦν O, Jacoby

⁴ Kruger, Cobet . πράττουσιν O

⁵ συντυγχάνοντες AB ἐντυγχάνοντες R.

earlier than had been the custom with past elections, and nominated Appius Claudius and Titus Genucius for consuls ; then, laying aside all thought for the public business, as if it were now the concern of others, they no longer paid any heed to the tribunes, but determined to pass the remaining time of their consulship in evasion of their duty. It chanced that one of them, Menenius, was seized with a chronic illness ; indeed, some said that a wasting disease, which had come upon him because of grief and despondency, had made his malady hard to be cured. Sestius, availing himself of this additional excuse and pretending that he could do nothing alone, kept rejecting the pleas of the tribunes and advising them to apply to the new consuls. Thus the tribunes, since there was nothing else they could do, were forced to have recourse to Appius and his colleague, who had not yet entered upon their magistracy, and would now plead with them in the meetings of the assembly and now in private conferences. And at last they overcame these men by holding out to them great hopes of honour and power if they would espouse the cause of the populace. For Appius was seized with a desire to be invested with an alien magistracy, to establish laws for the fatherland and to set an example to his fellow citizens of harmony and peace and the recognition by them all of the unity of the commonwealth. Nevertheless, when he had been honoured with this great magistracy, he did not preserve his probity but, corrupted by the greatness of his authority, succumbed to an irresistible passion for holding office and came very near to

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καὶ ὀλίγου ἐδέησεν ἐπὶ τυραννίδα ἐλάσαι περὶ ὧν
κατὰ τὸν οἰκεῖον διαλέξομαι καιρόν.

LV. Τότε δ' οὖν ἀπὸ τοῦ κρατίστου ταῦτα βουλευσάμενος καὶ τὸν συνάρχοντα πείσας, ἐπειδὴ πολλάκις αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἐκάλεσαν οἱ δήμαρχοι, παρελθὼν πολλοὺς καὶ φιλανθρώπους διεξῆλθε λόγους· κεφάλαια δ' αὐτοῦ τῆς δημηγορίας τοιαύδε ἦν, ὅτι τὸ μὲν ἀποδειχθῆναι τοὺς νομοθέτας¹ καὶ παύσασθαι στασιάζοντας τοὺς πολίτας ὑπὲρ τῶν ἴσων αὐτῷ τε καὶ τῷ συνάρχοντι παντὸς² μάλιστα δοκεῖ, καὶ ἀποφαίνονται γνώμην φανεράν· τοῦ δ' ἀποδείξαι τοὺς νομοθέτας αὐτοὶ μὲν οὐδεμίαν ἔχουσιν ἐξουσίαν οὐπω παρεληφότες τὴν ἀρχήν, τοῖς δὲ περὶ Μενήμιον ὑπάτοις οὐχ ὅπως ἐναντιώσονται πράσσουσι τὰ δόξαντα τῇ βουλῇ, ἀλλὰ καὶ³ ² συνεργήσουσι καὶ πολλὴν εἰσονται χάριν. ἐὰν δ' ἀναδύνωνται σκηψὶν προβαλλόμενοι τὴν νέαν³ ἀρχήν, ὥς οὐκ ἐξὸν αὐτοῖς ἐτέρους ἄρχοντας ὑπατικὴν ἐξουσίαν παραληψομένους ἀποδεικνύειν νέων⁴ ἤδη κεκυρωμένων ὑπάτων, οὐδὲν ἐμποδῶν αὐτοῖς τὸ καθ' ἑαυτοὺς ἔσεσθαι. ἐκόντες γὰρ ἀποστήσεσθαι τῆς ὑπατείας⁵ τοῖς ἀνθ' αὐτῶν αἰρεθησομένοις, ἐὰν³ καὶ τῇ βουλῇ ταῦτα δοκῇ. ἐπαινοῦντος δὲ τοῦ δήμου⁶ τὴν προθυμίαν τῶν ἀνδρῶν καὶ πάντων κατὰ πλῆθος ἐπὶ τὸ συνέδριον ὠσαμένων, ἀναγκασθεῖς ὁ Σήστιος τὴν βουλὴν συναγαγεῖν μόνος, ἐπειδὴ ὁ Μενήμιος ἀδύνατος ἦν παρῆναι διὰ τὴν νόσον, προὔθηκεν ὑπὲρ τῶν νόμων λέγειν. ἐλέχθη-

¹ Sylburg . νόμους O, Jacoby

² παντὸς om. B.

³ νέαν B om R.

⁴ νέων Kiessling : ἡμῶν O, Jacoby, om Kayser.

⁵ τῆς ὑπατείας B . om R

running into tyranny ; all which I shall relate at the proper time.

LV At any rate, at the time in question he took this resolution with the best of motives and prevailed upon his colleague to do the same ; and since the tribunes repeatedly invited him to appear before the assembly, he came forward and spoke many words of goodwill. The substance of his speech was as follows. That both he and his colleague held it to be a matter of the first importance that the lawgivers should be appointed and that the citizens should cease quarrelling over equal rights ; and they were declaring their opinion openly. But for the appointing of the lawgivers they themselves had no authority, since they had not yet entered upon their magistracy ; however, not only would they not oppose Menenius and his colleague in carrying out the decree of the senate, but they would actually assist them and be very grateful to them. If the others, however, should decline to carry out the decree, using the new magistracy as an excuse, claiming that it was not lawful for them, now that new consuls had been confirmed, to create other magistrates who would receive consular power, they said that so far as they themselves were concerned there would be nothing to prevent the present consuls from acting. For they would willingly resign the consulship to such magistrates as should be appointed in their stead, provided the senate too should approve of it. The populace praising them for their goodwill and rushing in a body to the senate-house, Sestius was forced to assemble the senate alone, Menenius being unable to attend by reason of his illness, and proposed to them the consideration of the laws.

⁶ δῆμον R · δῆμον καὶ B, Jacoby.

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σαν μὲν οὖν καὶ τότε πολλοὶ ὑπ' ἀμφοτέρων λόγοι,
τῶν τε παραινούντων κατὰ νόμους πολιτεύεσθαι καὶ
τῶν ἀξιούντων τοὺς πατρίους φυλάττειν ἐθισμούς.
4 ἐνίκα δὲ ἡ τῶν εἰς νέωτα μελλόντων ὑπατεύειν
γνώμη, ἣν Ἀππίος Κλαύδιος πρῶτος ἐρωτηθεὶς
ἀπεφάνητο, ἄνδρας αἰρεθῆναι δέκα τοὺς ἐπιφανε-
στάτους ἐκ τῆς βουλῆς· τούτους δ' ἄρχειν εἰς
ἐνιαυτὸν ἀφ' ἧς ἂν ἀποδειχθῶσιν ἡμέρας, ἐξουσίαν
ἔχοντας ὑπὲρ πάντων τῶν κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ἣν εἶχον
οἱ τε ὑπατοὶ καὶ ἔτι πρότερον¹ οἱ βασιλεῖς, τὰς τ'
ἄλλας ἀρχὰς πάσας καταλελύσθαι ἕως² ἂν οἱ δέκα
5 μετέχωσι³ τῆς ἀρχῆς· τούτους δὲ τοὺς ἄνδρας ἔκ τε
τῶν πατρίων ἐθῶν καὶ ἐκ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν νόμων
οὓς ἐκόμισαν οἱ πρέσβεις ἐκλεξαμένους τὰ κρά-
τιστα καὶ τῇ Ῥωμαίων πόλει πρόσφορα νομοθετή-
σασθαι⁴· τὰ δὲ γραφέντα ὑπὸ τῶν δέκα ἀνδρῶν, εἰ
ἢ τε βουλὴ δοκιμάσῃ καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἐπιψηφίσῃ, κύρια
εἰς τὸν ἅπαντα εἶναι χρόνον, καὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς ὅσαι
ἂν ὕστερον ἀποδειχθῶσι κατὰ τούτους⁵ τοὺς νό-
μους τὰ τε ἰδιωτικὰ συμβόλαια διαιρεῖν καὶ τὰ
δημόσια ἐπιτροπεύειν.

LVI. Τοῦτο τὸ δόγμα λαβόντες οἱ δήμαρχοι
προῆλθον εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν καὶ ἀναγνόντες ἐν τῷ
δήμῳ πολλοὺς ἐπαίνους τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ προ-
θέντος⁶ τὴν γνώμην Ἀππίου διεξῆλθον· ἐπεὶ δὲ
κατέλαβεν ὁ τῶν ἀρχαιρεσιῶν καιρὸς, ἐκκλησίαν
συναγαγόντες οἱ δήμαρχοι τοὺς τ' ἀποδειχθέντας
ὑπάτους ἤκειν ἡξίου ἐμπεδώσοντας τῷ δήμῳ τὰς

¹ Sylburg · πρῶτον O.

² ἕως R . τέως Ba (?), Jacoby.

³ μετέχωσι Cary : τύχωσι O, Jacoby.

⁴ νομοθετήσασθαι B . νομοθετήσεσθαι R, Jacoby.

Many speeches were made on this occasion also both by those who contended that the commonwealth ought to be governed by laws and by those who advised adhering to the customs of their ancestors. The motion that carried was made by the men who were to serve as consuls for the next year ; it was delivered by Appius Claudius, who was first called upon, and was as follows That ten persons be chosen, the most distinguished members of the senate, and that these govern for a year from the day of their appointment, possessing the same authority over all the affairs of the commonwealth as the consuls and, before them, the kings had enjoyed , that all the other magistracies be abrogated for as long a time as the decemvirs held office , that these men select both from the Roman usages and from the Greek laws brought back by the ambassadors the best institutions and such as were suitable to the Roman commonwealth, and form them into a body of laws ; that the laws drawn up by the decemvirs, if approved by the senate and confirmed by the people, should be valid for all time, and that all future magistrates should determine private contracts and administer the affairs of the public according to these laws

LVI The tribunes, having received this decree, went to the assembly and after reading it before the populace, bestowed much praise upon the senate and upon Appius, who had proposed it And when the time came for the election of magistrates, the tribunes called an assembly and asked the consuls-elect to come and fulfil their promises to the popu-

⁵ τούτους added by Kiessling.

⁶ Kiessling : θέντος O.

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ὑποσχέσεις, καὶ κείνοι παρελθόντες ἐξωμόσαντο τὰς
 2 ὑπατείας. τούτους ὁ δῆμος ἐπαινῶν τε καὶ θαυ-
 μάζων διετέλει, καὶ ἐπειδὴ τοὺς νομοθέτας ψηφο-
 φορεῖν ἔδει, πρώτους εἴλετο τῶν ἄλλων· καὶ
 ἀπεδείχθησαν ἐν ἀρχαιρεσίαις ὑπὸ τῆς λοχίτιδος
 ἐκκλησίας Ἀππίος μὲν Κλαύδιος καὶ Τίτος Γενύ-
 κιος,¹ οὓς ἔδει τοῦπιόν² ἄρχειν ἔτος, Πόπλιος δὲ
 Σήστιος ὁ τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν ἐκείνον ὑπατεύων, τρεῖς δὲ³
 οἱ κομίσαντες παρὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων τοὺς νόμους,
 Σπόριος⁴ Ποστόμιος καὶ Σερούιος⁵ Σολπίκιος καὶ
 Αὔλος Μάλλιος, εἰς δὲ τῶν ὑπατευσάντων τὸν
 παρελθόντα ἐνιαυτὸν, Τίτος Ῥωμίλιος, ὁ τὴν ἐν
 τῷ δήμῳ δίκην Σικκίου κατηγορήσαντος ἀλούς,
 ἐπειδὴ γνώμης ἐδόκει ἄρξαι δημοτικῆς· ἐκ δὲ τῶν
 ἄλλων βουλευτῶν Γάιος Ἰούλιος καὶ Τίτος Οὐε-
 τούριος καὶ Πόπλιος Ὀράτιος, ἅπαντες ὑπατι-
 κοί· αἱ δὲ τῶν δημάρχων τε καὶ ἀγορανόμων καὶ
 ταμιῶν καὶ εἴ τινες ἦσαν ἄλλαι πάτριοι Ῥωμαῖοις
 ἀρχαὶ κατελύθησαν.

LVII. Τῷ δ' ἐξῆς ἔτει παραλαβόντες οἱ νομο-
 θέται τὰ πράγματα πολιτείας κόσμον τοιόνδε τινὰ
 καθίστανται εἰς μὲν αὐτῶν τὰς τε ράβδους καὶ τὰ
 λοιπὰ παράσημα τῆς ὑπατικῆς εἶχεν ἐξουσίας, ὃς
 βουλήν τε συνεκάλει καὶ δόγματα ἐπεκύρου καὶ
 τὰλλα ἔπραττεν ὅσα ἡγεμόνι προσῆκεν· οἱ δ' ἄλλοι
 συστέλλοντες ἐπὶ τὸ δημοτικώτερον τὸ τῆς ἐξου-
 σίας ἐπίφθονον ὀλίγῳ τινὶ διήλλαττον ὀφθῆναι τῶν
 πολλῶν· εἴτ' αὖθις ἕτερος αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τὴν ἐξουσίαν

¹ Sylburg · τίτος λεύκιος γενύκιος AB.

² εἰς τοῦπιόν Cobet, Jacoby

³ δὲ Kiessling τε O.

⁴ Σπόριος Sylburg : πόπλιος AB.

lace; and they, appearing, resigned their magistracy. The populace kept praising and admiring them, and when they were to vote for lawgivers, made them their first choice. Those chosen at the election by the centuriate assembly were Appius Claudius and Titus Genucius, who were to have been consuls for the following year, Publius Sestius, consul of that year, the three who had brought the laws from the Greeks, Spurius Postumius, Servius Sulpicius and Aulus Manlius; one of the consuls of the preceding year, Titus Romulus, the man who had been condemned when tried before the populace on a charge brought by Siccius and was now chosen because he was thought to have offered a motion favourable to the populace¹, and, from among the other senators, Gaius Julius, Titus Veturius and Publius Horatius, all ex-consuls. At the same time the offices of the tribunes, aediles, quaestors and any other traditional Roman magistrates were abrogated.

LVII The next year² the lawgivers took over the administration of affairs and established a form of government of the following general description. One of them had the rods and the other insignia of the consular power, assembled the senate, certified its decrees, and performed all the other functions belonging to the head of the state, while the others, by way of reducing the invidious character of their office to the more democratic level, differed in appearance but little from the mass of citizens. Then another of them in turn was vested with this authority,

¹ *Cf* chaps 50 f.

² For chaps 57 f *cf* Livy III. 33, 7-34, 11.

⁵ Sylburg : *σερουλιος* AB

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- καθίστατο, καὶ τοῦτ' ἐκ περινομῆς¹ ἐγίνετο παρα-
 λὰξ ἐπ' ἐνιαυτόν,² ἐκάστου³ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν παρα-
 λαμβάνοντος εἰς συγκείμενόν τινα ἡμερῶν ἀριθμόν
 2 ἅπαντες δ' ἐξ ἐώθινου καθεζόμενοι διήττων τὰ
 ἰδιωτικὰ⁴ συμβόλαια καὶ τὰ δημόσια, ὅποσα πρὸς
 τε ὑπηκόους καὶ συμμάχους καὶ τοὺς ἐνδοιαστῶς
 ἀκρωμένους τῆς πόλεως ἐγκλήματα τυγχάνοι γι-
 νόμενα, μετὰ πάσης ἀνασκοποῦντες ἕκαστα ἐπι-
 3 εικείας τε καὶ δικαιουσύνῃς ἐδόκει δὲ ἄριστα τὸν
 ἐνιαυτὸν ἐκείνον ἢ Ῥωμαίων πόλις ὑπὸ τῆς δεκαδ-
 αρχίας⁵ ἐπιτροπευθῆναι. μάλιστα δ' αὐτῶν ἐπ-
 ηνείτο ἡ τοῦ δημοτικοῦ πρόνοια καὶ πρὸς ἅπαν τὸ
 βίαιον ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀσθενεστέρων ἀντίταξις ἐλέχθη τε
 ὑπὸ πολλῶν⁶ ὡς οὐδὲν ἔτι δεήσοι δῆμον προστατῶν
 οὐδὲ τῶν ἄλλων ἀρχείων τῇ πόλει μιᾶς διοικουμένης
 ἅπαντα ἡγεμονίας σώφρονος, ἧς ἀρχηγὸς Ἀππίος
 4 εἶναι ἐδόκει. καὶ τὸν ὑπὲρ ὅλης τῆς δεκαδάρχιας
 ἔπαινον ἐκείνος ἐφέρετο παρὰ τοῦ δήμου. οὐ γὰρ
 μόνον ἂ μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἔπραττεν ἀπὸ τοῦ κρατίσ-
 του⁷ χρηστότητος ἔφερεν αὐτῷ δόκησιν, ἀλλὰ πολὺ
 μᾶλλον ἂ κατ' ἰδίαν ἐπιτηδεύων διετέλει, κατὰ τ'
 ἀσπασμοὺς καὶ προσαγορεύσεις φιλανθρώπους καὶ
 τὰς ἄλλας τῶν πενήτων φιλοφρονήσεις.
- 5 Οὗτοι οἱ δέκα ἄνδρες συγγράψαντες νόμους ἐκ τε
 τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν νόμων καὶ τῶν παρὰ σφίσιν αὐτοῖς
 ἀγράφων ἐθισμῶν προϋῆσαν ἐν δέκα δέλοις τῷ
 βουλομένῳ σκοπεῖν, δεχόμενοι πᾶσαν ἐπανόρθωσιν

¹ περινομῆς O : περιτροπῆς Cobet, Jacoby

² Jacoby ἐνιαυτοῦ A, αὐτοῦ B

³ ἐκάστου added by Reiske

⁴ ἰδιωτικὰ B : δημοτικὰ R ⁵ Kiessling δεκαρχίας O

⁶ ὑπὸ πολλῶν B : ὑπ' αὐτῶν καὶ ὑπὸ πολλῶν A

⁷ ἀπὸ τοῦ κρατίστου B om R.

and thus it went on in rotation for a year, each one in succession receiving the command for a certain number of days as agreed upon. But all of them sat from early morning arbitrating cases involving private and public contracts in which complaints might arise between citizens and the subjects and allies of the Romans and peoples of doubtful allegiance to Rome, examining each case with complete fairness and justice. That year the Roman commonwealth seemed to be exceedingly well governed by the decemvirs. Above all they were commended for their care of the plebeians and for opposing, in defence of the weaker parties, every kind of violence; and it was said by many that the commonwealth would have no further need of champions of the populace or any of the other magistracies so long as a single wise leadership was directing all the affairs of the state. Of this régime Appius was looked upon as the head, and all the praise that belonged to the whole decemvirate was given by the populace to him. For he gained a reputation for probity not only by those things which he did in concert with his colleagues from the best motives, but much more by the manner in which he conducted himself personally, as in the matter of greetings, friendly conversation and other kindly courtesies toward the poor.

These decemvirs, having formed a body of laws both from those of the Greeks and from their own unwritten usages, set them forth on ten tables to be examined by any who wished, welcoming every amendment suggested by private persons and en-

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ἰδιωτῶν καὶ πρὸς τὴν κοινὴν εὐαρέστησιν ἀπευθύ-
 νοντες τὰ γραφέντα καὶ μέχρι πολλοῦ διετέλεσαν
 ἐν κοινῷ μετὰ τῶν ἀρίστων ἀνδρῶν συνεδρεύοντες
 καὶ τὴν ἀκριβεστάτην ποιοῦμενοι τῆς νομοθεσίας
 6 ἐξέτασιν. ἐπειδὴ δ' ἀποχρώντως ἐφαίνετο αὐτοῖς
 τὰ γραφέντα ἔχειν, πρῶτον μὲν τὴν βουλὴν συν-
 αγαγόντες οὐθενὸς ἔτι μεμφομένου τοῖς νόμοις
 προβούλευμα περὶ αὐτῶν ἐκύρωσαν ἔπειτα τὸν
 δῆμον καλέσαντες¹ εἰς τὴν λοχίτιν ἐκκλησίαν
 ἱερομνημόνων τε καὶ οἰωνιστῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων
 ἱερέων παρόντων καὶ τὰ θεῖα ὡς νόμος ἐξηγησα-
 7 μένων ἀνέδωκαν τοῖς λόχοις τὰς ψήφους ἐπικυρώ-
 σαντος δὲ καὶ τοῦ δήμου τοὺς νόμους, στήλαις
 χαλκαῖς ἐγχαράξαντες αὐτοὺς ἐφεξῆς ἔθεσαν ἐν
 ἀγορᾷ τὸν ἐπιφανέστατον ἐκλεξάμενοι τόπον. καὶ
 ἐπειδὴ βραχὺς ὁ τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτοῖς χρόνος ὁ
 λειπόμενος ἦν, συναγαγόντες τοὺς βουλευτὰς προὔ-
 θεσαν ὑπὲρ ἀρχαιρεσίῳ οἷα χρή γενέσθαι σκοπεῖν.

LVIII. Πολλῶν δὲ λεχθέντων ἐνίκησεν ἡ γνώμη
 τῶν παραινούντων δεκαδαρχίαν αὐθις ἀποδείξαι τῶν
 κοινῶν κυρίαν. ἀτελής τε² γὰρ ἡ νομοθεσία ἐφαί-
 νετο, ὥς ἂν ἐξ ὀλίγου συντεθείσα χρόνου, καὶ ἐπὶ
 τοῖς ἤδη κεκυρωμένοις, ἵνα ἐκόντες τε καὶ ἄκοντες
 ἐν αὐτοῖς μένοιεν, ἐδόκει δὴ³ τινος ἀρχῆς αὐτοκρά-
 τορος δεῖν τὸ δὲ μάλιστα πείσαν αὐτοὺς προελέ-
 σθαι τὴν δεκαδαρχίαν ἣν τῶν δημάρχων κατάλυσις,
 2 ὁ παντὸς μάλιστα ἐβούλοντο. ταῦτα μὲν ἐν κοινῷ
 σκοπουμένοις αὐτοῖς ἐδόκει, ἰδίᾳ δὲ οἱ πρωτεύοντες
 τοῦ συνεδρίου γνώμην ἐποιοῦντο μεταπορεύεσθαι

¹ Kiessling : ἐκάλεσαν O

² τε B : om R.

³ Reiske : δέ O.

deavouring to correct them in such a manner as to give general satisfaction. For a long time they continued to consult in public with the best men and to make the strictest scrutiny of their code of laws. When they were satisfied with what was written, they first convened the senate and, no fresh objection being made to the laws, they got a preliminary decree passed concerning them. Then, having summoned the people to the centuriate assembly, the pontiffs, the augurs and the other priests being present and having directed the performance of the religious rites according to custom, they gave the centuries their ballots. And when the people too had ratified the laws, they caused them to be engraved on bronze pillars and set them up in order in the Forum, choosing the most conspicuous place. Then, as the remaining time of their magistracy was short, they assembled the senators and proposed for their consideration what kind of magistrates should be chosen at the next election.

LVIII. After a long debate the opinion of those prevailed who favoured choosing a decemvirate again to be the supreme power in the state. For not only was their code of laws manifestly incomplete, in view of the short time in which it had been compiled, but in the case of the laws already ratified some magistracy absolute in power seemed necessary in order that willingly or unwillingly people might abide by them. But the chief motive that induced the senate to give the preference to the decemvirate was the suppression of the tribunician power, which they desired above everything. This was the result of their public deliberations; but in private the leading men of the senate resolved to canvass for this magis-

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τὴν ἀρχήν, δεδιότες μὴ παραχῶδεις τινὲς ἄνθρωποι τηλικαύτης ἐξουσίας λαβόμενοι κακόν τι μέγα ἐργάσωνται. ἀγαπητῶς δὲ τοῦ δήμου τὰ δόξαντα τῇ βουλῇ δεξαμένου καὶ μετὰ πλείστης προθυμίας ἐπιψηφίσαντος αὐτοὶ μὲν οἱ δέκα ἄνδρες προεῖπον τὸν τῶν ἀρχαιρεσίων καιρόν, μετήεσαν δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν οἱ ἐντιμότατοί τε καὶ πρεσβύτατοι τῶν πατρικίων.

3 ἔνθα δὴ πολὺς ὑπὸ πάντων ἐπαινούμενος ἦν ὁ τῆς τότε δεκαδαρχίας ἡγεμὼν Ἀππίος, καὶ πᾶς ὁ δημοτικὸς ὄχλος ἐκείνον ἐπὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἡξίου κατέχειν ὥς οὐκ ἄλλου τινὸς ἄμεινον ἡγησομένου ὃ δ' ἀναίνεσθαι μὲν προσεποιεῖτο κατ' ἀρχὰς καὶ ἀπολύειν αὐτὸν¹ ἡξίου λειτουργίας καὶ² ὄχληρᾶς καὶ ἐπιφθόνου τελευτῶν δ' ὥς ἐλιπάρουν αὐτὸν ἅπαντες αὐτὸς τε ὑπέμενε μετιέναι τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ τῶν συμπαραγγελόντων τοὺς ἀρίστους αἰτιασάμενος οὐχ ἡδέως πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ἔχειν διὰ τὸν φθόνον, τοῖς

4 ἑαυτοῦ φίλοις συνηγωνίζετο φανερώς. ἀποδείκνυται τε πάλιν ἐν ἀρχαιρεσίαις λοχίτισι νομοθέτης τὸ δεύτερον σὺν δ' αὐτῷ Κόιντος μὲν Φάβιος ὁ καλούμενος Οὐιβολανὸς ὁ τρὶς ὑπατεύσας, ἀνὴρ ἀνεπίληπτος εἰς τὸδε χρόνου γενόμενος περὶ πᾶσαν ἀρετὴν· ἐκ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων πατρικίων, οὓς ἐκείνος ἡσπάζετο, Μάρκος Κορνήλιος καὶ³ Μάρκος Σέργιος⁴ καὶ Λεύκιος Μηνύκιος καὶ Τίτος Ἀντώνιος καὶ Μάνιος Ῥαβολήμιος,⁵ ἄνδρες οὐ πάνυ ἐπιφανεῖς ἐκ δὲ τῶν δημοτικῶν Κόιντος Ποιτέλλιος καὶ Καίσων Δουέλλιος καὶ Σπόριος Ὀππίος⁶ προσελήφθησαν γὰρ καὶ οὗτοι πρὸς τοῦ Ἀππίου

¹ αὐτὸν B . om R.

² καὶ B om. R.

³ Μάρκος Κορνήλιος καὶ Sylburg : om AB.

⁴ Sylburg : σερουίλιος AB

tracy, fearing that certain turbulent spirits, if they gained such power, might cause some great mischief. The popular assembly having gladly received the resolution of the senate and confirmed it with the greatest enthusiasm, the decemvirs themselves appointed the time for the election; and those among the patricians who were most distinguished for both their dignity and age stood candidates for the magistracy. Upon this occasion Appius, who was the chief of that decemvirate, received great praise from everybody and the whole crowd of plebeians desired to continue him in the magistracy, believing that no one else would govern better. He at first pretended to refuse it and asked them to excuse him from a service that was both troublesome and invidious; but at last, when they all pressed him, he not only consented to seek the office himself, but also, accusing the best of the rival candidates of being ill disposed toward him through envy, openly espoused the candidacy of his friends. Thus he was again chosen in the centuriate assembly as a lawgiver, for the second time, and with him Quintus Fabius, surnamed Vibulanus, who had been thrice consul, a man adorned with every virtue and without reproach up to that time. From among the other patricians those favoured by Appius and chosen were Marcus Cornelius, Marcus Sergius, Lucius Minucius, Titus Antonius and Manius Rabuleius, men of no great distinction, and from among the plebeians,¹ Quintus Poetelius, Caeso Duius and Spurius Oppius. For these also were taken in by

¹ According to Livy (iv. 3, 17) the decemvirs were all patricians.

⁵ Sylburg : *παβόλιος* O

⁶ Sylburg : *ἀππιος* ABb.

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κολακείας ἔνεκα τῶν δημοτικῶν, διδάσκοντος ὅτι
 δίκαιόν ἐστι μιᾶς ἀρχῆς κατὰ πάντων ἀποδεικνυ-
 5 μένης εἶναί τι καὶ τοῦ δήμου μέρος ἐν αὐτῇ. εὐδο-
 κιμῶν δ' ἐφ' ἅπασι τούτοις καὶ δοκῶν κράτιστος
 εἶναι βασιλέων τε καὶ τῶν κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἡγησα-
 μένων τῆς πόλεως παραλαμβάνει πάλιν τὴν ἀρ-
 χὴν εἰς τὸν ἐπιόντα ἐνιαυτὸν ταῦτα κατ' ἐκείνην
 ἐπράχθη τὴν δεκαδαρχίαν ὑπὸ¹ Ῥωμαίων, ἄλλο δ'
 οὐθὲν ὅ τι καὶ λόγου ἄξιον.

LIX. Ἐν δὲ τῷ κατόπιν ἔτει παραλαβόντες τὴν
 ὑπατικὴν ἐξουσίαν οἱ σὺν Ἀππίῳ Κλαυδίῳ δέκα
 ἄνδρες εἰδοῖς μαῖταις (ἦγον δὲ τοὺς μῆνας κατὰ
 σελήνην, καὶ συνέπιπτεν εἰς τὰς εἰδούς ἡ παν-
 2 σέληνος), πρῶτα μὲν ὅρκια τεμόντες ἀπόρρητα τῷ
 πλήθει συνθήκας σφίσιν αὐτοῖς ἔθεντο περὶ μηδενὸς
 ἀλλήλοις ἐναντιοῦσθαι, ὅ τι δ' ἂν εἰς ἐξ αὐτῶν
 δικαίωσιν, τοῦθ' ἅπαντες ἡγείσθαι κύριον, τὴν τ'
 ἀρχὴν καθέξειν διὰ βίου καὶ μηδένα παρήσειν ἕτερον
 ἐπὶ τὰ πράγματα, ισότιμοί τε ἅπαντες ἕσεσθαι καὶ
 τὴν αὐτὴν ἔξειν δυναστείαν, βουλῆς μὲν ἢ δήμου
 ψηφίσμασι σπανίως καὶ εἰς αὐτὰ τὰναγκαῖα χρώ-
 μενοι, τὰ δὲ πλεῖστα ἐπὶ τῆς ἑαυτῶν ἐξουσίας
 3 ποιοῦντες ἐνστάσης δὲ τῆς ἡμέρας ἐν ᾗ παρα-
 λαβεῖν αὐτοὺς ἔδει τὴν ἀρχήν, τοῖς θεοῖς προ-
 θύσαντες ἃ νόμος (ἱερὰν δὲ ταύτην ἄγουσι Ῥωμαῖοι
 τὴν ἡμέραν καὶ παντὸς μάλιστα ὀπτεύονται μὴτ'
 ἀκοῦσαι μηδὲν ἀηδὲς ἐν αὐτῇ μὴτ' ἰδεῖν) ἔωθεν
 εὐθὺς ἐξήεσαν οἱ δέκα τὰ παράσημα τῆς βασιλικῆς

¹ ὑπὸ B · om. R.

¹ For chaps. 59 f. cf. Livy iii. 35-38, 2.

Appius in order to flatter the plebeians ; he pointed out that, as only one magistracy was appointed to govern all the citizens, it was just that the populace also should be represented in it. Thus Appius, who was in great repute for all these actions and was looked upon as superior to both their kings and the annual magistrates who had governed the state, assumed the magistracy again for the following year. These were the things done by the Romans during that decemvirate, and there was nothing else worth relating.

LIX The following year¹ Appius Claudius and the other decemvirs, having received the consular power on the ides of May (for the Romans reckoned their months by the course of the moon, and the full moon fell on the ides), first of all took a solemn oath, without the knowledge of the populace, and made a compact among themselves not to oppose one another in anything, but that whatever was approved by any one of them should be ratified by all the others , and they agreed that they would hold their magistracy for life and admit no other person into the government, that they would all enjoy the same honours and possess the same power, and that they would rarely make use of the votes of the senate or populace and then only in absolutely necessary cases, but would do almost everything on their own authority. When the day came on which they were to enter upon their magistracy, after they had offered the usual initial sacrifices to the gods (for the Romans look upon this day as holy and particularly make it a point of religion neither to hear nor to see anything disagreeable during its course), the decemvirs set out early in the morning, each one accompanied by

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4 ἔξουσίας ἅπαντες ἐπαγόμενοι. ὁ δὲ δῆμος, ὡς
 ἔμαθεν αὐτοὺς οὐκέτι φυλάττοντας τὸ δημοτικὸν
 ἐκεῖνο καὶ μέτριον σχῆμα τῆς ἡγεμονίας οὐδὲ δι-
 αμειβομένους τὰ παράσημα τῆς βασιλικῆς ἀρχῆς
 ὡς πρότερον, εἰς πολλὴν ἦλθε δυσθυμίαν καὶ κατ-
 5 ἤφειαν. ἐφόβουν θ' οἱ προσηρτημένοι ταῖς δέσμαϊς
 τῶν ῥάβδων πελέκεις, οὓς ἔφερον οἱ προηγούμενοι
 τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐκάστου δώδεκα ὄντες ἀναστέλλοντες
 ἐκ τῶν στενωπῶν πληγαῖς τὸν ὄχλον, ὃ καὶ ἐπὶ
 τῶν βασιλέων ἐγένετο πρότερον. κατελύθη γὰρ
 εὐθύς τὸ ἔθος τοῦτο μετὰ τὴν ἐκβολὴν τῶν μονάρ-
 χων ὑπ' ἀνδρὸς δημοτικοῦ Ποπλίου Οὐαλερίου τὴν
 ἐκείνων ἔξουσίαν μεταλαβόντος, ᾧ πάντες οἱ μετ'
 ἐκεῖνον ὑπατοὶ καλοῦ πράγματος δόξαντι ἄρξαι τὰ
 ὅμοια πράττοντες οὐκέτι ταῖς δέσμαϊς τῶν ῥάβδων
 προσήρτων τοὺς πελέκεις ὅτι μὴ κατὰ τὰς στρα-
 τείας καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἐξόδους τὰς ἐκ τῆς πόλεως.
 6 πόλεμον δ' ἐξάγοντες ὑπερόριον ἢ τῶν ὑπηκόων
 πράγματα ἐπισκεπτόμενοι,¹ τότε καὶ τοὺς πελέκεις
 ταῖς ῥάβδοις προσελάμβανον, ἵνα τὸ τῆς ὀψεως
 φοβερόν, ὡς κατ' ἐχθρῶν ἢ δούλων γινόμενον,
 ἦκιστα φαίνεται τοῖς πολίταις ἐπαχθές.

LX. Τοῦτο δὴ θεασαμένοις ἅπασιν, ὃ τῆς βασιλι-
 κῆς ἔξουσίας σημεῖον ἐνομίζετο εἶναι, πολὺ παρ-
 ειστήκει δέος, ὥσπερ ἔφην, ἀπολαλεκέσαι νομίζουσι
 τὴν ἐλευθερίαν καὶ δέκα βασιλεῖς ἐλομένοις ἀνθ'
 ἐνός τοῦτον δὲ τὸν τρόπον καταπληξάμενοι τοὺς
 ὄχλους οἱ δέκα ἄνδρες καὶ γνόντες ὅτι δεῖ φόβῳ τὸ
 λοιπὸν αὐτῶν² ἄρχειν, ἐταιρίαν ἕκαστοι συνῆγον
 ἐπιλεγόμενοι τοὺς θρασυτάτους τῶν νέων καὶ σφί-
 2 σιν αὐτοῖς ἐπιτηδειοτάτους. τὸ μὲν οὖν ἐκ τῶν

¹ ἐπισκεπτόμενοι R : ἐπισκεφόμενοι B, Jacoby.

the insignia of royalty When the people saw that they no longer preserved the same democratic and modest form of leadership or passed on the insignia of royalty from one to another, as before, they fell into great despair and dejection They were terrified by the axes attached to the bundles of rods which were borne by the lictors, twelve of whom preceded each of the decemvirs and with blows forced the throng back from the streets, as had been the practice formerly under the kings. This custom, however, had been abolished, immediately after the expulsion of the kings, by Publius Valerius, a friend of the populace, who succeeded to their power, and all the consuls after him, following the good example he was felt to have set, no longer attached the axes to the bundles of rods except when they went out of the city either upon military expeditions or upon other occasions; but when they set out on a foreign war or inspected the affairs of their subjects, they then added the axes to the rods. This was in order that the terrifying sight, as one employed against their enemies or slaves, might give as little offence as possible to the citizens.

LX. When, therefore, they all saw this token, which was considered to be a mark of the kingly power, they were in great fear, as I said, believing that they had lost their liberty and chosen ten kings instead of one The decemvirs having by this means struck terror into the masses and made up their mind that they must rule them by fear thereafter, each of them formed a faction, choosing from among the youth those who were most daring and most attached to their persons Now the fact that most

² ἀντὶ τούτου om B.

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ἀπόρων καὶ τῶν ταπεινῶν ταῖς τύχαις τοὺς πλείους
φανῆναι τυραννικῆς κόλακας ἐξουσίας, τοῦ κοινοῦ
συμφέροντος ἀλλαξαμένους τὰς αὐτῶν ὠφελείας,
οὔτε παράδοξον οὔτ' ἀνέλπιστον ἦν· τὸ δὲ καὶ ἐκ
τῶν πατρικίων εὐρεθῆναι συχνοὺς ἔχοντάς τι καὶ
ἐπὶ πλούτῳ καὶ ἐπ' εὐγενείᾳ μέγα φρονεῖν τοὺς ὑπο-
μένοντας συγκαταλύειν τοῖς δεκαδάρχοις¹ τὴν τῆς
πατρίδος ἐλευθερίαν, τοῦτο θαυμαστὸν ἅπασιν εἶναι
ἐδόκει. οἱ δὲ² πάσαις κολακεύοντες ἡδοναῖς, ὅποσαι
πεφύκασιν ἀνθρώπων κρατεῖν, κατὰ πολλὴν ἄδειαν
ἤρχον τῆς πόλεως, βουλὴν μὲν ἢ δῆμον ἐν οὐδεμιᾷ
μερίδι τιθέμενοι, πάντων δὲ αὐτοῖ νομοθέται τε καὶ
δικασταὶ γινόμενοι, καὶ³ πολλοὺς μὲν ἀποκτινύντες
τῶν πολιτῶν, πολλοὺς δ' ἀφαιρούμενοι τὰς οὐσίας
³ ἀδίκως. ἵνα δ' αὐτοῖς εὐπρεπῶς τὰ γινόμενα ἔχη,
παράνομα καὶ δεινὰ ὄντα, ὥς δὴ σὺν τῷ δικαίῳ
- πραττόμενα, δικαστήρια ἐφ' ἐκάστῳ χρήματι ἀπ-
εδίδοσαν ἦσαν δὲ οἱ τε κατήγοροι ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἐκεί-
νων ἐκ τῶν συγκατασκευαζόντων τὴν τυραννίδα
ὑποπεμπόμενοι, καὶ τὰ⁴ δικαστήρια ἐκ τῶν ἐταί-
ρων ἀποδεικνύμενα, οἱ διημεΐβοντο ἀλλήλοις κατα-
⁴ χαριζόμενοι τὰς δίκας. πολλὰ δὲ τῶν ἐγκλημάτων
καὶ οὐ τὰ ἐλαχίστου ἄξια ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν οἱ δέκα
ἔκρινον, ὥστ' ἠναγκάζοντο οἱ μειονεκτοῦντες τῷ
δικαίῳ προσνέμειν ἑαυτοὺς ταῖς ἐταιρίαις, ἐπειδὴ τὸ
ἀσφαλές οὐκ ἐνῆν ἄλλως αὐτοῖς ἔχειν, καὶ ἐγένετο
σὺν χρόνῳ πλεῖον τοῦ ὑγιαίνοντος ἐν τῇ πόλει τὸ
διεφθαρμένον καὶ νοσοῦν. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἡξίουν ἔτι
μένειν ἐντὸς τείχους οἷς τὰ πραττόμενα ὑπὸ τῶν

¹ δεκαδάρχοις B : δεκάρχοις R.

² οἱ δὲ Jacoby : οἱ ABb, δ Ba.

³ καὶ deleted by Reiske.

men of no means and low condition showed themselves flatterers of a tyrannical power and preferred their private advantages to the public good, was neither extraordinary nor surprising, but that there were found many even of the patricians who, though they had some reason, on the basis of either wealth or birth, to feel great pride, nevertheless consented to join with the decemvirs in destroying the liberty of their country, that seemed an amazing thing to everybody. But the decemvirs, by humouring people with all the pleasures that are calculated to subdue mankind, governed the commonwealth with great ease, holding the senate and people in no account, but becoming themselves both the lawgivers and the judges in all matters, putting many of the citizens to death and stripping others of their estates unjustly. In order, however, that their acts, illegal and cruel as they were, might have a specious appearance and seem to be carried out in accordance with justice, they appointed courts to try every matter; but the accusers, chosen from among the instruments of their tyranny, were suborned by the decemvirs themselves and the courts filled with men of their factions, who gratified one another by turns in rendering their decisions. Many complaints, and those not the ones of least importance, the decemvirs decided by themselves. Hence the litigants who had less right on their side were under the necessity of attaching themselves to the factions, since they could not otherwise be sure of success; and in time the corrupted and infected element in the city became more numerous than the sound element. For those to whom the doings of the decemvirs

⁴ τὰ added by Kiessling

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δεκαδάρχων ἀνιὰρὰ ἦν, ἀλλ' ἀνεχώρουν εἰς τοὺς
 ἀγροὺς τὸν τῶν ἀρχαιρεσίῳ σκοποῦντες χρόνον ὡς
 ἀποθησομένων τῶν δέκα ἀνδρῶν τὰς δυναστείας,
 ὅταν τὸν ἐνιαύσιον ἐκτελέσωσι χρόνον, καὶ ἀπο-
 5 δειξόντων ἑτέρας ἀρχάς. οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Ἀππιον
 τοὺς λοιποὺς συγγράψαντες νόμους ἐν δέλτοις δυ-
 σὶ καὶ ταύτας ταῖς πρότερον ἐξενεχθείσαις προσ-
 ἔθηκαν· ἐν αἷς καὶ ὅδε ὁ¹ νόμος ἦν,² μὴ ἐξεῖναι
 τοῖς πατρικίοις πρὸς τοὺς δημοτικούς ἐπιγαμίας
 συνάψαι—δι' οὐδέν, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν, ἕτερον ἢ τὸ μὴ
 συνελθεῖν εἰς ὁμόνοιαν τὰ ἔθνη γάμων ἐπαλλαγαῖς
 6 καὶ οἰκειότητων κοινωνίαις συγκερασθέντα ὡς
 δὲ καὶ ὁ τῶν ἀρχαιρεσίῳ ἐπέστη χρόνος, πολλὰ
 χαίρειν φράσαντες τοῖς τε πατρίοις ἔθισμοις καὶ
 τοῖς νεωστὶ γραφεῖσι νόμοις, οὔτε βουλῆς ψήφισμα
 ποιήσαντες οὔτε δήμου διέμειναν ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς
 ἀρχῆς.

¹ ὁ Bb : om R.

² ἦν om. A.

were obnoxious would not consent even to remain any longer within the city's walls, but retired to the country while awaiting the time for the election of magistrates, in the expectation that the decemvirs would resign their power after completing their year's term and would appoint other magistrates. As for Appius and his colleagues, they caused the remaining laws to be inscribed on two tables and added them to those they had published before. Among these new laws was this one, that it should not be lawful for the patricians to contract marriages with the plebeians—a law made for no other reason, in my opinion, than to prevent the two orders from coming together in harmony when once blended together by intermarriages and ties of affinity. And when the time for the election of magistrates was at hand, the decemvirs bade a hearty farewell to both the ancestral customs and the newly-written laws, and without asking for a vote of either senate or people, continued in the same magistracy.

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